

BLACK POLITICS

1985

march.

Sawyer 1/3/85 (114)

SP swoop nets 7 Duduza residents

SEVEN members of various organisations in Duduza township, Nigel, were picked up by Security Police in a dawn swoop at their homes, following the unrest in the area in the past two weeks.

According to a member of the Duduza Civic Association (DCA), the seven are Mr Joseph Thobela, Mr John Radebe, Mrs Irene "Gilly" Maohlodi, Mr Alexander Montoedi, Mr John Mlangeni, Ms Patricia Sonto Thobela and Mr Johannes Mazibuko. They were all picked up at about 3.45 am on Sunday.

The public relations division of the South African Police in Pretoria yesterday confirmed the detention of the seven

and said they were being held in terms of Section 50 (1) of the Internal Security Act (Act 74 of 1982). They are members of the local Parents/Students Committee, Civic Association and the Congress of South African Students (Cosas).

A spokesman for the DCA said most of those detained, were supposed to address a residents meeting which was scheduled for the Sunday afternoon. The meeting was to discuss the unrest that took place in the area the previous week during which two people were killed. The residents claimed that a group of Baca tribesmen from the local

hostel had been talked into fighting locals by agents of the South African Government.

Residents in the township have been protesting against the East Rand Development Board's use of the bucket system and the area's infra-structure as a whole. They had agreed to march to the local administration offices, where they were to dump the buckets when fighting against the Bacas began and police intervened leading to rioting and the call for a stay-away. The residents have now called on the police to release those detained and to stop banning funerals.

By
**SELLO
RABOTHATA**

Senators demand release of UDF leaders

WASHINGTON — Forty American Senators have written to South Africa's State President, Mr P W Botha, demanding the immediate release of detained United Democratic Front leaders.

The letter, which appears to have been instigated by Senator Edward Kennedy, was signed by 11 Republicans, including Senator

By Gerald L'Ange,
The Star Bureau

Nancy Kassebaum, chairman of the foreign relations committee's Africa sub-committee.

It noted Mr Botha's expressed willingness to begin discussions with black leaders about their political aspirations.

It said: "We took that to be a positive and hopeful sign that such discussions might begin in the near future.

"In this context, these most recent arrests are most disheartening.

"This action throws serious doubt on the good faith of your Government in its dealings with black leaders

inside South Africa.

"It can only increase the likelihood of continued racial violence inside your country."

The Senators told Mr Botha that the arrests could only impede the movement towards peaceful change inside South Africa and increase the polarisation between the white and black communities.

SA accused of 'State-supported terrorism'

WASHINGTON — American Congressman George Crockett has accused the South African authorities of State-supported terrorism, a charge normally reserved for countries such as Iran, Syria, Cuba and Russia.

Congressman Crockett, a

liberal Democrat from Michigan and an influential member of the black caucus, told the House of Representatives: "It is time for this administration to make clear to South Africa that America can no longer be a silent partner to its practice

of State-supported terrorism, systematically visited upon its 22 million black South Africans.

"We can do this most effectively by indicating now that American dollars will no longer be available to a

country that practises such inhumanity."

Congressman Crockett asked his colleagues to support sanctions and disinvestment measures introduced in Congress for debate later this year. — The Star Bureau.



Senator Edward Kennedy

Pig in mosque: 'apartheid's agents' blamed

11/3/85
I/A
Star

Community leaders in Lenasia are outraged by the discovery of the head of a slaughtered pig which was tossed into a mosque in the religious centre where a recent protest against the arrest of United Democratic Front leaders was held.

They believe the planting of the pig's head is a direct response to the protest meeting and place the blame squarely on "the agents of apartheid". In addition to throwing the head through an open window in the mosque's ablution block on Wednesday night, the culprits sprayed the outer walls of the mosque with the words, "Young socialists . . . fat bourgeois pigs".

The Transvaal Indian Congress, which sponsored the meeting, regards the desecration of the mosque as part of a campaign of intimidation in which the homes of four UDF activists have been petrol-bombed this week and five people injured.

Dr Mohamed Momoniat, president of Nur-ul-Islam — the organisation which owns the mosque complex — pointed out that the pig was so thoroughly despised in the whole Indian community that he could only believe some "reactionary, fascist element" from outside was responsible.

He said: "It is inherent in Islam to stand against apartheid and its evil consequences. Therefore, this cowardly act will not dilute or weaken our struggle for a just society." The TIC warned in a statement that the community was growing angrier as the "reign of terror" against the UDF continued, and declared that supporters of apartheid would not succeed by such desperate methods.

Rivonia trialist in dramatic dash to airport

Goldberg freed, flies to Israel

ROM 1/3/85 (11A) 3099

By ANTON HARBER in Johannesburg
and ROY ISACOWITZ in Tel Aviv
MR DENNIS GOLDBERG, the only
white person convicted in the famous
Rivonia Trial, was released last night
after serving 21 years of a life sen-
tence and immediately flown to Israel.

Mr Goldberg, 51, had apparently responded to the State President's offer of conditional freedom by pledging not to involve himself in politics.



Mr Herut Lapid, a key person in the two-year Israeli efforts to have Mr Dennis Goldberg released from prison.

His acceptance came as a surprise since the other seven Rivonia trialists, led by Nelson Mandela, have refused the State President's offer.

It comes after a two-year effort to have him released involving senior members of the Israeli Government; Mr Arthur Goldreich, another Rivonia accused who escaped from prison and fled to Israel before the trial; and the United Kibbutz Movement of Israel.

The final deal was apparently secured by Mr Herut Lapid of the Kibbutz Movement's prisoner rehabilitation programme.

Yesterday morning, Mr Goldberg was taken in great secrecy from Pretoria Central Prison to Jan Smuts Airport.

There was tight security at the airport as he was taken to a VIP room and allowed to say goodbye to a small group of friends.

He went through the normal immigration exits about an hour before the flight took off and was on board El Al flight 512 which left at 12.30pm.

He left on a South African passport and was said to be composed.

He was due to arrive at Ben-Gurion Airport, near Tel Aviv, shortly after 10 last night and was to be met by his wife, Esme, who had flown in the previous day from London, and his daughter, Hillary, who has lived for the past two years on Kibbutz Ma'ayan Baruch.

He was expected to be met on the runway by a car and whisked away to an undisclosed destination.

Goldberg will apparently make his home on Kibbutz Ma'ayan Baruch, a communal village on Israel's northern border with Lebanon.

Mr Goldberg is the fifth political prisoner to be released in terms of the State President's offer, but the first from the ranks of the African National Congress.

Four members of the Pan Africanist Congress were released last week.

Seventeen other political prisoners have accepted the offer, according to the Department of Prison Services.

However, they have not served enough of their sentences to be released in terms of the offer. Their acceptance will be taken into account when they are eligible for remission.

The Department of Prison Services has declined to identify them.

Mr Goldberg was jailed alongside Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, and other key leaders of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation).

They received life sentences on two counts of sabotage, one under the Suppression of Communism Act and one under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, and became the most famous of South Africa's political prisoners.

Mr Goldberg was found to have used his knowledge

as a highly successful engineer to manufacture various devices used for sabotage.

A graduate of the University of Cape Town, he was a member of the Communist Party and reached prominence in the Congress of Democrats — the white element in the Congress

From Page 1

Alliance led by the ANC — in the early 1950s.

He was active in organising the Congress of the People in 1955 and was detained in the 1960 Emergency.

When police swooped on the Rivonia farm in 1963

and arrested the key leaders of Umkhonto we Sizwe, Mr Goldberg was among them.

The two-year effort to release him was initiated by Mr Goldreich.

A source close to the initiative told the Rand Daily Mail last night that at the request of Goldberg's daughter, Hillary, a bipartisan committee of Knesset members had been formed to explore ways of securing his release.

The United Kibbutz Movement, the umbrella body of the Kibbutzim, played a crucial role in coordinating the effort.

Among those who participated in or lent their support to the initiative, were President Haim Her-

zog and former Defence Minister Moshe Arens. However, the efforts failed to bear fruit, due apparently to South African unwillingness to be seen making political concessions.

The initiative picked up momentum several weeks ago when Ma'ayan Baruch requested the assistance of Herut Lapid.

Mr Lapid, who in addition to rehabilitating local prisoners on Kibbutzim has succeeded in gaining the release of several Israeli and Jewish prisoners from foreign jails, flew to South Africa about two weeks ago.

He succeeded where politicians had failed.

Sources in Israel confirmed that the South African authorities had set several conditions for Goldberg's release and that he had signed an undertaking to desist from political activity.

Yesterday, the Israeli Ambassador flew from Cape Town to Pretoria for just a few hours, but an embassy counsellor, Mr M Podem, firmly denied that it was connected with Mr Goldberg's release.

He declined to comment when asked if there had been any Israeli intervention leading up to Mr Goldberg's release.

To Page 2



Dennis Goldberg goes free after 21 years

Z-SCORE	VALUE	Z-SCORE	RANGE
-1.59	15.000	1.74	14.000
-1.05	2275.000	5.24	2279.000
-1.07	4109.000	5.69	4101.000
-.74	*****	5.71	*****
-.96	279652.000	5.14	279646.000
-.68	*****	7.75	*****
-.71	655625.000	10.57	655527.000
-1.13	2997.000	5.95	2952.000
-1.17	1761.000	5.92	1736.000
-.58	794.000	6.48	794.000
-.95	2572.000	5.81	2571.000
-.91	18599.000	5.40	18596.000
-.53	6527.000	6.51	6527.000
-.54	3864.000	7.01	3864.000
-.95	6068.000	5.47	6068.000
-.81	125342.000	6.49	125342.000
-.48	19776.000	6.11	19776.000
-.17	1.000	7.04	1.000
-.60	19760.000	6.53	19758.000
-1.27	1851.000	5.15	1847.000
-.72	*****	7.57	*****
-1.20	221234.000	4.29	220034.000
-.69	*****	5.94	*****
-1.29	112467.000	5.30	111767.000
-.93	20074.000	5.36	20033.000
-.52	5383.000	5.98	5383.000
-.25	1579.000	9.68	1579.000
-.72	537.000	6.65	537.000
-.72	486738.000	5.62	486738.000
-1.05	555584.000	4.78	555584.000
-.59	2.000	4.86	2.000
-.78	1.000	1.27	1.000
-.91	37348.000	4.37	37348.000
-.69	36184.000	4.23	36184.000
-.94	36603.000	4.13	36603.000
-.93	37801.000	4.55	37801.000
-.63	65760.000	6.53	65760.000
-.63	52420.000	4.50	52420.000
-.95	36603.000	3.53	36603.000
-.94	37801.000	4.19	37801.000
-.94	32633.000	4.43	32633.000
-.92	32617.000	4.62	32617.000
-.96	24617.000	5.90	24617.000
-.95	19716.000	6.39	19716.000
-.40	507.000	13.53	505.452
-.93	28.556	7.13	27.371
-1.07	69.356	11.61	65.730
-1.48	629.128	3.98	719.890
-1.94	329.456	9.54	326.523
-1.75	1.572	8.19	2.364
	10.637	13.15	11.543
	6.491	5.92	7.491
	5.445	10.62	6.445

TRIALS
Staying away

(20) (11A) (11A)

The Transvaal Attorney General's office seems uncertain about the future of the case in which five alleged organisers of last November's stayaway were due to be charged with subversion.

The case, the State v Mali and four others, was postponed in January when four of the accused, Thami Mali, Oupa Monareng, Temba Nontlantane and Peter

Financial Mail March 1 1985

Makgoba, failed to appear in court.

The only person who appeared was Metal and Allied Workers' Union (Mawu) official Moses Mayekiso, who is due to appear again on April 3. Warrants of arrest have been issued for the others and their bail of R2 000 each has been estreated.

A source in the Department of Justice says the disappearance of Mali and the other three has changed the complexion of the case and further investigations are being carried out. He declined to say whether this meant the charges against Mayekiso could be withdrawn.

He says a draft of the charge sheet relating to the five had been completed before the scheduled January appearance. However, if Mayekiso is charged alone, the new circumstances may require that the section dealing with him be redrafted. Whatever the final decision, it will have been made by April 3.

5/20/12
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Mercury 2/3/85

Rajbansi claim on licences disputed

Mercury Reporter

THE chairman of the Minister's Council in the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, has been called upon to resign 'if he does not have the courage to state publicly the alleged irregular means' by which a Durban shipping and forwarding company had obtained harbour carrier licences.

The challenge was made by Mr Nithia Reddy, managing director of Sealandair Shipping and Forwarding (Pty) Ltd, whose chairman is Mr Jayaram Reddy, leader of opposition Solidarity Party, in response to Mr Rajbansi's claim during the no confidence debate in Parliament.

Bribery

Earlier this week, in reply to an amended motion by Solidarity MP Yunus Moolla calling for a commission of inquiry to investigate all allegations of bribery and corruption, Mr Rajbansi said: 'For 30 years nobody of any race group, not even the Nationalist Government's best friend, could obtain a harbour carrier licence.'

Mr Reddy said: 'This is sheer nonsense and blatant untruth because 15 other haulier certificates had been granted in the last 10 years and two of them were issued to Indian-owned companies.'

Mr Reddy also denied a claim by Mr Rajbansi that his company had obtained 10 certificates.

'It was after many unsuccessful attempts over 15 years that a licence had been granted to us in 1983,' said Mr Reddy.

He said he hoped Mr Rajbansi would prove his allegations.

Post Focus

ANC front or dinosaur?

11A E. Post
2/3/85

A YOUNG black man produced the newspaper he was reading at the spot where a report appeared about the United Democratic Front.

"The UDF!" he said dismissively, "Mostly Indians."

It wasn't an informed remark, of course, but politics is as much to do with impression as information. And that's the one he had got.

But it is only one of many that range from allegations that it is a cover for the African National Congress to a baby dinosaur in the fast-changing world of "resistance" politics.

The young black man's view, for one, is not as lightly regarded in UDF circles as one might imagine of an organisation that regards itself as *fiercely non-racial*. For it reflects the concern among many activists that the UDF is a middle-class outfit failing to capture the imagination of ordinary black people.

The two important Indian affiliates of the UDF — the Transvaal Indian Congress and the Natal Indian Congress — symbolise for them the apparent elite doctor/lawyer/businessman nature of the 18-month-old front's leadership and following.

Clearly the security police believed leadership, whatever its failings, to be

a threat to the security of the State because last week they swooped on just about every UDF office and official's home in the country and doubled to 16 the list of UDF leaders facing treason charges.

So what is this strange creature which, on one hand, is accused of being behind outbreaks of violence and, on the other, is dismissed by an observer who said this week that "while the UDF is certainly not making the riots, the riots might well be making the UDF"?

The UDF was founded in a festival atmosphere by 15 000 people from all over the country at a rally in Mitchell's Plain, near Cape Town, in August, 1983.

It arranged around it many of the symbols of resistance from the 1950s, including individuals who were active at that time such as Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Mr Archie Gumede and Dr Essop Jassat, all of whom are among the treason trial 16.

They and others are personifications of the old "congress movement", led by the ANC, and their presence conferred upon the UDF the status of legitimate heir to that movement.

In the 18 months of its existence, the UDF has had a high profile, spearhead-

For an organisation which has hardly been out of the headlines since its formation 18 months ago, the United Democratic Front is extraordinarily little understood. GRAHAM WATTS reports

ing as it did the campaign against all facets of what the Government liked to refer to as the new dispensation.

Mr Mark Swilling, a lecturer in politics at the University of the Witwatersrand, says the formation of the umbrella organisation — which claims 600 affiliates — arose out of a combination of several organisational and intellectual developments since the country-wide upheavals of 1976:

● In 1977, student activists began questioning the classic black consciousness belief in the vanguard role of students and intellectuals in "the struggle". The failure, or only partial success, of worker stayaways during 1976 and 1977 revealed a gulf between the youngsters and their parents, the workers.

● There was a growing theoretical debate among activists that favoured an analysis of South African society along class rather than racial lines, giving rise to the idea of a non-racial socialism and resulting in a split with black consciousness philosophy and organ-

isations.

● The 1980 school boycotts which served as a sort of dress rehearsal for boycott action that involved working closely with community organisations and unions — having learned, as they said, the lessons of 1976.

● The formation of worker-dominated community organisations, such as the Port Elizabeth Black Community Organisation (Pebco), led by Ford labourer Mr Thozamile Botha.

● The formation of other township organisations, such as the "civics", women's groups, rent and transport committees and the important youth congresses made up mostly of unemployed youngsters with time and energy for political activism.

● The establishment of uncompromisingly non-racial, shop-floor controlled trade unions, particularly those affiliated to the Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu).

● The re-emergence of the popularity of the ANC through its highly visible sabotage attacks that in-

cluded explosions at three Sasol plants, the Koeberg nuclear power station and other actions with a primarily propaganda effect.

● The growth of organisations that openly and expressly promoted the Freedom Charter, a document outlining the principles of a non-racial future South Africa signed in 1955 by several organisations, including the ANC.

A "space" was thus opened for the formation of a united front organisation espousing the principles of non-racialism embodied in the Freedom Charter, says Mr Swilling, and the UDF filled it.

Mr Swilling argues that because of the severe recession that struck in the first quarter of 1983, there was a marked decline in worker militancy.

"As a result the initiative in the formation of the united front fell to what critics call the populists or petty-bourgeois elements.

It was primarily from those ranks that the UDF's leadership was drawn, though lip-service continued to be paid to the leader-

ship role of the working class.

Critics inside and outside the UDF have accused it of being a multi-class alliance with organisational structures loaded against the working class. These critics, known to their detractors as "workerists", call for a much greater role in decision-making by workers and worker organisations.

This is one of the central reasons for the refusal of Fosatu and other independent trade unions to affiliate to the UDF. If Fosatu were affiliated, its over 100 000 members would be represented by two votes on the UDF's general council.

Relations between the unions and UDF-affiliated organisations suffered a severe blow in November last year during the two-day Transvaal work stayaway.

From the organisers' point of view, it was a massive success, thanks mostly to the unions' organisational muscle, but the behaviour of members of the co-ordinating committee, such as Mr Thami Mali, was considered irresponsible and highlighted the unaccountability associated with non-union organisations.

However, the long-term effect of the stayaway is considered to have marked

a significant new phase in "resistance", solidifying relations between activist political organisations and unions that have hitherto behaved apolitically.

Meanwhile, the security police's decision to swoop on the UDF last week and charge 16 of its leaders with treason, is fuelling moves by the organisation to restructure itself as a protective measure.

The result is expected to be an extensive decentralisation that will lower the profile of the national leadership and shift the decision-making power away from it to the lower levels.

The police's action against the leadership has baffled UDF watchers who maintain that far from being responsible for the violence that has surfaced in townships the UDF leadership has been reduced to watching developments way out of its control.

The clampdown on resistance campaigns at the beginning of the 1960s led directly to the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing, says Mr Swilling. The 1977 clampdown led to a massive exodus of youngsters who joined the ANC and returned as saboteurs.

A similar clampdown on the UDF now could have the same effect, he said.

THE Times

SA is wrong, says Goldberg

From JOHN BATERSBY

LONDON. — Mr Dennis Goldberg, freed after serving 21 years in prison for his part in the Rivonia conspiracy, said yesterday that "emotional reasons" had swayed him to give an undertaking to renounce violence.

"I would like to be an active person and not a passive symbol," Mr Goldberg told a press conference shortly after his arrival in Israel.

He said in a BBC radio interview that the decision to give the undertaking to renounce violence was "not an easy one".

But Mr Goldberg said that he had not changed his views about South Africa.

"I haven't changed my views. I still think that our country is wrong.

'No peace'

"I wrote a letter to the State President and I said that until we had a united, democratic Republic of South Africa we would have no peace in our country.

"And until we achieve that, all the agonies would go on.

"I must admit it wasn't an easy decision to take.

"I can give all sorts of reasons why I did give the undertaking that was demanded.



Mr Dennis Goldberg

"But, in the end, the emotional reason was the important one. I needed to be out of prison," Mr Goldberg said.

Mr Goldberg's decision to take up President Botha's conditional offer of release — he is the first member of the banned African National Congress to do so — has set the exile community here abuzz.

There was no comment yesterday from the ANC offices here, although there is clearly concern that Mr Goldberg's decision could lead to other ANC prisoners taking up the offer.

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Goldberg speaks out

From Page 1

"I can give all sorts of reasons why I did give the undertaking that was demanded.

"But, in the end, the emotional reason was the important one.

"I needed to be out of prison," Mr Goldberg said. Mr Goldberg's decision to take up Mr Botha's offer — he is the first member of the banned African National Congress to do so — has set the exile community in London abuzz.

There was no comment yesterday from the ANC offices in London although there is clearly concern that Mr Goldberg's decision could lead to other ANC prisoners taking up the offer.

It will take a long time for Mr Goldberg to acclimatise to his new home in the shadow of snow-capped Mount Hermon.

He does not display much emotion, but his excitement and bewilderment are palpable.

The Kibbutz greeted him like a long lost son.

Certainly, on Ma'ayan Baruch, his past is not regarded as criminal.

The Kibbutz secretary, Mr Shlomo Yahel, who was instrumental in organising the two-year covert campaign that led to Mr Goldberg's release, said: "As a society, we on the Kibbutz are all standing a few inches taller today."

Mr Goldberg said his thoughts were with those he left behind, both in jail and out.

He stressed that in leaving South Africa, he did not abandon his mission.

He will continue to believe in and work for change in South Africa.

Twenty-one years in jail have left Mr Goldberg thin, pallid and balding.

But he looks fit, and says that he feels good.

Less than a day after arriving in Israel, the strain of the journey and the stream of visitors and journalists have left him exhausted.

The second hero of the saga is Mr Herut Lapid (literally "torch of freedom") a fast-talking bulldozer of a man.

Mr Lapid, who heads an organisation that rehabilitates prisoners on Kibbutzim, flew to South Africa two weeks ago to see what he could do. On Thursday he flew out with Mr Goldberg.

er, Mrs Sylvia Lathleiffe, has very difficult to breed, especially

Goldberg tells of his promise on violence

By JOHN BATTERSBY
London Bureau

LONDON. — Mr Dennis Goldberg, freed after serving 21 years in prison for his part in the Rivonia conspiracy, said yesterday that "emotional reasons" had decided him to give an undertaking to renounce violence.

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"I still think that our country is wrong.

"I wrote a letter to the State President and I said that until we had a united democratic republic of South Africa we would have no

peace in our country.

"And until we achieved that all the agonies would go on."

Less than 24 hours after his release from prison Mr Goldberg was walking around his new home — Kibbutz Ma'ayan Baruch where his daughter Hilary has been living for the past few years, ROY ISACOWITZ reports from Israel.

He received a standing ovation when he walked into the dining-room yesterday.

The flight from Johannesburg to Tel Aviv was his first time in a plane.

The television set in his apartment was the first he had seen.

Explaining to the BBC why he had accepted President Botha's offer of conditional release, Mr Goldberg said: "I must admit it wasn't an easy decision to take.

To Page 2

'I certainly can't condemn the use of violence by others'

Goldberg slams SA State terror

11A
2/3/85
Tel Aviv

Dennis Goldberg may have promised not to use or incite violence to further his political views but he is certainly not keeping quiet.

He arrived in Israel early yesterday morning and, even before he went to sleep, he called a news conference at the northern kibbutz of Ma'ayan Baruch. There he told representatives of local and international media that he planned to be active in trying to change South Africa "to bring about a united democratic state".

"How I will do it, I can't tell you. I need rest, I need to regain my inner resources, I need to talk to people," he told journalists.

"While I have given an undertaking not to take part in, to instigate or to plan violence, there's a very significant political campaign which can take place both within and without South Africa."

He said he was freed after signing a renunciation of violence as a means of fighting white rule but that he could not condemn the use of violence by others.

"I don't think that whether I say there should be no violence or otherwise will stop what will take place," he said. "I do believe that the terrorism in South Africa today is not of the people seeking their liberation but of the armed might of the South African State."

"They don't hesitate to shoot. They shoot down children who want a decent education, people who want a place to live at Crossroads get shot down even though they are unarmed."

Justified

"If people respond with more effective defence ... and use their numbers against the armed might of the South African State, I think they're justified," he said.

"I certainly couldn't condemn it. I'm not going to prescribe to other people."

Goldberg criticised Israel for its close relations with South Africa.

"I would like to influence the foreign policy of a country such as Israel which, for, I suppose, very complex reasons, is a very close ally of South Africa. I think Israel is backing the wrong horse. I think the horse they are backing must lose," he said.

"I know that my leaders, my senior commanders — Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu — have given a categorical 'no' to the offer by the State President. I wish I had been as strong as they are."

"I needed to be out of prison, I hope they will understand."

"After nearly 22 years in jail, I suddenly had the most terrible desire to live, to be near my daughter Hillary and to see the light again," he said, his eyes filling with tears.

Then, in an open necked shirt, puffing on his pipe, Dennis Goldberg got up and, hand in hand with his daughter, walked, laughing, crying, talking, out of the hall on to the lawns of the kibbutz — with 22 lost years to catch up.

● The Bethnal Green Council is to name a new block of houses in honour of Nelson Mandela and his wife, Winnie, despite opposition from Liberal councillors. — The Star's Foreign News Service-Associated Press.

THE question of participation in government-inspired structures has never constituted a grave or time-consuming debate in the black community. (By black is meant all those who have been classified other than white, who, by law or tradition, have been politically oppressed, socially denigrated and economically exploited).

From their formative years blacks have learnt to be suspicious of the intentions, acts and utterances of their white rulers. The unreliable environment in which blacks have been forced to grow up has instilled in them a mistrust for any white-initiated plan for participation in the decision-making processes of the country.

The black has learnt from bitter, often traumatic, experience that he does not signify for himself, that his life is incidental. He knows that from the time he leaves the womb till he enters the tomb he is important only when he is harnessed in the service of white interests or when he is construed as hampering white development.

Swiftly

In the latter case, he would be swiftly removed to facilitate white progress, whatever the cost in national budget or human misery. The great god of white power has arrogated unto himself the good life and the power to decide who should live where, work where, die where.

Since the irruption of white settlerdom in the Cape in the latter half of the 17th century, the indigenous people resisted every manoeuvre designed to co-opt and traduce them into selling their birthright.

Nevertheless, history is spiced with dispossessed individuals who have been duped by either the *bona fides* or the ability of the white rulers to effect some meaningful change, and deluded by their presumed powers of persuading the ruling class to share power.

The advocates of participation have ranged from

Participation is playing with toy telephones

Continuing our series on whether blacks should participate in government-created institutions, such as the forum announced by Mr Botha last month.

This week: SATHS COOPER, convener of the National Forum Committee



● Mr Saths Cooper, National Forum Committee convener

downright collaborators like Patrick Mphhephu (President of Venda) to the Communist Party. The Labour Party was regarded as part of the 'liberation movement' in some misguided circles until its fateful Eshove decision in January, 1983. Over two decades ago ANC leaders like Professor Z K Matthews and Chief Albert Luthuli participated in the Native Representative Council. They resigned in frustration when they realised they were playing with toy telephones.

Bandwagon

The very first National Party government came to power in the mid-Twenties through coalition support that the Communist Party backed. This latter coterie extolled the benefits of the 1905 Russian example of 'working from within'. Indeed, some campaigners for participation in the 1981 SA Indian Council election, who today appear on the anti-participation bandwagon, and some tricameral candidates last August, used the very same argument.

Unfortunately for all these

self-seekers in benefactor's clothing, they did not account for the natural resistance and spirit of boycott of the masses of the black people. Blacks' steadfastness in rejecting any participation and refusing to collude with the ruler's deceit and shallow promises is so deeply etched in their collective consciousness that they even question for example those who send their children to white private schools.

The centuries of hurt, deception and suffering inflicted on blacks are revealed in such implacability to any violation of principles they hold integral to the full realisation of their aspirations. Also revealed is an astounding, almost unending store of patience with the rulers' reforms and continued administrative violence, bungling and arrogance.

The black mind knows that while this patience is self-containment and a conserving of its energies and resources for the rendezvous of victory, every now and then the strains are tested at Sharpeville, Soweto or Crossroads.

You cannot participate in a game of political poker with

with a marked deck and some hidden cards up its sleeves. The stakes are loaded against you. If at all you emerge in one piece from the encounter, it will be at the expense of your soul, your credibility, your entire being in relation to your people.

You are bound to lose something in the process; invariably it's the interests of the vast majority of the people. Of course, you can also gain: maybe some police protection against a couple of petrol bombs, certainly an incredible rise in your personal wealth!

No reform or time-buying solution can work in the long term; the nightmare stretches way back to 1652. The only prescription for change is change itself, not reform, not buying out puppet leaders.

Artificial

True change, total change, can only take place when it dawns that we are one nation, not a plethora of artificial 'nations' within one country. We are one nation whether we have straight hair or curly hair, blue eyes or brown eyes, thin lips or thick lips, light skins or dark skins, whether we have different religions and different mother tongues.

Our destiny is one and we ought to be one people, owing no allegiance to any power but our self-determined Azanian nation.

But can Baas Whitey come off his high horse in time to recognise that John and Mary are not just servants but are feeling, equal beings whose bitterness and anger is belied by their seeming compliance? Can he give up his irrational fear of blacks and his position of privilege in time to prevent this country from plunging irrevocably into disaster?

We have consistently been branded as unbending fanatics who reject negotiated settlement and a national convention as a bourgeois sell-out. But I say negotiation can take place any time — if it concerns the hand-over of power to the majority of citizens of Azania.

EVICTIO THREATS FOR JORAC 3

MKHIZE

C. P. Pen
3/3/85

THE HAMBANATI community council is threatening to evict three Joint Rent Action Committee members — claiming they are “not living under family conditions”.

Jorac treasurer Ian Mkhize, chairman Richard Gumede and Linda Jack were served

with the notices this week.

Unless they satisfy the council within seven days that they are “living under family conditions”, superintendent A Ngwenya will go ahead with the cancellation of their permits to reside in Hambanati, says one of the notices.

Natal Development Board district manager C Woofard confirmed

that the three were served with notices because they don't live in their houses “for more than 30 days”.

Mr Mkhize and 25 other families fled their homes last August in the wake of clashes between supporters of Inkatha and the UDF.

The Hambanati Residents' Association has condemned the council's action.

3/3/85 C. P. van (11A)

Exiles scared to stay in Botswana

MOST South African exiles in Botswana are thinking of resettling overseas after the recent bomb attack on two exiles.

The bomb almost claimed the lives of fellow countrymen Nat Serache and Gabriel Pule.

The two escaped with multiple leg injuries when a massive bomb reduced their Gaborone home to rubble on February 13.

They have since left the

country for Zambia.

The remaining South African exiles — unofficially estimated at 200 — are gravely concerned.

They feel they also face the threat of bombings if they stay in Botswana.

Some of them are single, but others are married with children.

They now see America or Canada as safer havens — since these countries encourage conditional resettlement.

One of the conditions laid down by America is a non-criminal record, the denunciation of communism and totalitarianism and valid proof of refugee status.

Lately, many South African exiles — plus others from Namibia and Angola — have been making enquiries at the United States and Canadian embassies about their prospects for resettlement.

This could lead to a mass exodus from Botswana.

UDF arrests

— 'an act of cowardice'



BOESAK

3/3/85

KA [scribble] C. J. [scribble]

THE 16 UDF and trade union leaders facing treason charges have been arrested because the Government needs someone to blame for the mess the country is in.

This was Dr Allan Boesak's message to over 5 000 cheering UDF supporters in

'Free them!'

THE Nordic countries will apply pressure on South Africa to try to secure the release of the 16 UDF leaders facing treason charges, Norway said this week.

Norwegian Foreign Minister Evnen Stray did not elaborate on the Nordic measures, but said the countries were studying the matter.

Durban this week.

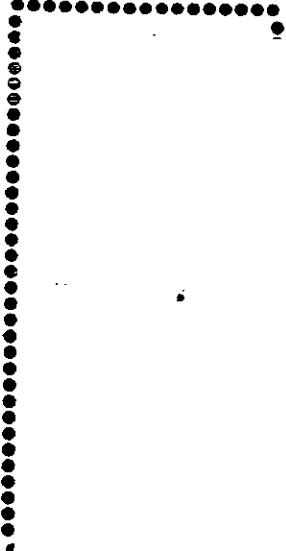
The meeting — called by the UDF to protest against the detention of the 16 and to honour Nobel Peace Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu — was the biggest in the city since the massive anti-election rallies last year.

Dr Boesak called the arrests a "scandalous, dastardly and cowardly act" carried out by the Government to divert attention from its mis-handling of the country.

The Government was creating a revolutionary climate through its detentions and oppression, he said.

He challenged the Government to arrest

him and charge him with treason because he had also participated with the 16 and other leaders in opposing the Government and its new constitution.



'THEIR DEATH WILL CAUSE EVEN MORE BITTERNESS'

11A

C. Pen

3/3/85

CP Correspondent

TWO ANC military commanders are to hang for murdering Maritzburg community leader Ben Langa — but the dead man's brother says their execution will only cause more bitterness in South Africa.



Siphon Xulu's granny holding hands with Rev Simon Gqubule after the trial.

Judge Kriek sentenced Siphon Xulu, 25, and Lucky Payi, 20 to death for gunning down Mr Langa at his home in May last year.

They said they had been instructed by ANC's regional security chief in Mbabane to "eliminate" Mr Langa, as he was believed to have given false information to the organisation.

The trial has caused confusion and concern in Natal, where Langa was a respected student and community leader, believed by many to be an ANC supporter.

The mothers of both the men wept when they heard the death penalty passed, and for Mr Langa's family, it was also a very painful moment.



Lucky Payi's mother, Gugu Majola with a relative, Euginia Payi, after the trial.

A member of his family said all his relatives had been shocked and outraged by his murder, and they did not accept that his killers' allegations were true in any way.

They described Mr Langa as a man of integrity, totally committed to the struggle for liberation of South Africa.

"We can only think that his killing was a gross mistake and the result of tragic misinformation.

"Of course his death and the claims made at the trial can only delight enemies of the struggle, and they have already created confusion among the oppressed people."

Mr Langa's brother Pius spoke out against the death sentence passed on the two killers.

"I hold all human life sacred."

I did what I had to do, says Goldberg

JERUSALEM — Freed South African political prisoner Dennis Goldberg said yesterday he was thrilled to be out of jail after 21 years.

But, he added, it was hard to leave behind his comrades fighting white supremacist rule.

"It was traumatic," he said at the northern Israeli Kibbutz Maayan Baruch, where his daughter lives.

His years of imprisonment had become so difficult that he couldn't carry on.

Mr Goldberg, South Africa's longest-serving white political prisoner, was freed last Thursday in exchange for signing a renunciation of violence as a means of fighting South African rule.

He said he expected his action would cause anger among ex-colleagues.

"But I did what I had to do," he added. "If I was a bad soldier, I'm sorry."

Mr Goldberg, said to have been a member of the now-banned Communist Party of South Africa, was arrested in 1962 and jailed for life in 1964 along with Nelson Mandela and other Black leaders.

They were accused of planning violence to overthrow white rule.

Mr Goldberg said he thought Mandela was right to refuse to sign the renunciation-of-political-violence agreement in exchange for freedom.

"This happened to come at a time when my own psychological need to get out was at its strongest.

"There's always been a conflict between what I know to be my duties to the movement and my personal needs at a particular time."

Mr Goldberg said he hoped to return to South Africa some day if he could be effective there.

He added that leaving South Africa was not a condition of his release, but Security Police would not leave him until he was on the plane.

Mr Goldberg said his ability to make bombs led to his capture and arrest in Johannesburg.

Knowing the Government was clamping down on dissidents, he had intended to leave South Africa.

But his comrades asked him to stay and make bombs, he said.

Before he could begin work he was arrested.

Mr Goldberg said he intended to leave Israel for his wife and son in London after visiting his daughter at the kibbutz.

"Whether I'm going to earn my living as an engineer and practise politics part-time or make a living part-time and practise politics full-time, I can't say now," he said.

"There are so many choices. I'm still flying. I'm high on just being free.

"I think the support of the state of Israel for the South African Government is one of the most horrifying things I have experienced," he said.

"It is clearly apparent that the United States Government, while talking change, at the same time protects South Africa on every possible occasion." — Sapa-Associated Press.

Let's open our doors, says Boya

By SYD KHUMALO
DAVEYTON Mayor, Mr Tom Boya, yesterday appealed to all councils to allow organisations which do not agree with

Government-created bodies to use all council facilities when he addressed the Congress of the Diepkloof Meadows Peoples Party at the Diepkloof Hall.

This was the first congress of the MDPP which was formed in March last year. This party is the official opposition in the Diepmeadow Council and is led by Mr M J Khumalo who is also the national treasurer of the Urban Councils Association of South Africa (Ucasa).

Mr Boya who is also vice-president of Ucasa

and president of the East Rand Urban Councils Association (Eruca) highlighted the fact that councillors needed to have a healthy method of communication with their constituencies if they hoped to "serve the people earnestly".

In his presidential address, Mr Khumalo said the creation of opposition parties in the urban councils was a necessity. "I feel that as long as the parties are not created as a means for position managing they must help the people to challenge some of the things

that could otherwise be unchallenged and as long as they are politically constructive and mature, let them flourish with every council".

Mr Khumalo also said that he was extending an invitation to all other organisations whose outlook is to fight the system that is unjust.

Mr Boya said that the Government is run accidentally. "If you look at all the people who run the Government you'll find that they all came to this country by accident.

Pik Botha, Tutu at odds

By BARRY STREEK

THE government's decisions on the future of the Crossroads were a clear indication of its determination to implement its programme of reforms despite adverse circumstances, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said in an interview released yesterday.

But Bishop Desmond Tutu, the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize-winner, said the turmoil in Crossroads and the arrests of UDF leaders was "the classical situation of giving with one hand taking back with the other".

"When people were beginning to get excited about (the government's new reform) initiative, we were suddenly struck by cold reality," Bishop Tutu said.

Both leaders were interviewed for this week's cover story in the United States news magazine Newsweek.

Mr Botha said: "Further reform initiatives were announced after the riots in Crossroads took place, important reform initiatives which affect the people of Crossroads."

"This ought to serve as a clear indication of the government's determination to implement its programme of reform de-



Mr Pik Botha ... important reform initiatives.

spite adverse circumstances.

"However, the government is equally determined to ensure that change in South Africa takes place in a controlled and orderly manner."

Mr Botha said the government had become aware of the arrests of the United Democratic Front leaders only after they had been made. It had followed a decision by the Attorney-General.

But Bishop Tutu said that whatever credibility the reform moves may



Bishop Tutu ... suddenly struck by cold reality.

have engendered, "they have been seriously undermined by the recent arrests and rioting".

He said: "We don't want apartheid liberalized. We want it dismantled."

"You can't improve something that is intrinsically evil."

"All of our efforts are turned to the removal of apartheid, so the only questions that are still at issue are how this going to be effected: By violence or by dialogue."

Mr Botha, however,

said the government was "committed to change or to repeal laws and practices which discriminate in a negative, inhumane or humiliating way against people on account of their colour or their skin".

"Yes, South Africa is changing. But it is changing at a pace which we believe the white voters can absorb."

Mr Botha also said he presumed President Ronald Reagan had embarked on the policy of constructive engagement with the intention of furthering the interests of the United States.

The US and South Africa had "a common interest in removing communism, in developing the regional economy, in developing a free-market system".

Bishop Tutu said constructive engagement had "made things quite desperately bad for blacks".

"I didn't believe it was leading anywhere before. Now (since the riots in Crossroads and the UDF arrests) it has been completely discredited," Bishop Tutu said.

He also said the most serious threat to stability in South Africa was apartheid, not the Russians.

Economy bungled, says UDF

11A

RESOLUTIONS condemning the Government's handling of the economy, militarisation, forced removals and apartheid education were passed at the annual meeting of the East Cape region of the United Democratic Front at the weekend.

Publicity secretary Mr Stone Sizani said the resolution on unemployment "condemned the mismanagement of the economy by the Government which resulted in the mass unemployment in

the Eastern Cape".

The delegates "condemned the mass mobilisation of the armed forces in all spheres of South African society, particularly the occupation of the black townships and called on the Government to demobilise the SADF".

They also "called on the State to halt all removals and allow everyone to live where he chooses, and to scrap the Group Areas Act and all related laws".

On education, the reso-

lution passed called on the State "to scrap all legislation that enforces separatism in education and allow for an education system based on the will of the people, free from apartheid trappings".

Mr Derrick Swartz was re-elected as general secretary of the front for the Eastern Cape. Mr Edgar Ngoyi as president, Mr H Fazzie as vice-president, Mr E Ndulzulwana as treasurer and Mr M Ndube as recording secretary.

11A


PFP Youth congress votes for UDF liaison

Mercury Correspondent
CAPE TOWN—The Progressive Federal Party Youth's congress agreed at the weekend to 'establish liaison with all non-violent extra-parliamentary groups in opposing apartheid', including the United Democratic Front.

However, a motion to approach the PFP's fed-

eral council to consider the possibility of the party participating and gaining a majority in the Houses of Delegates and Representatives was defeated.

At the congress, held at Rondebosch, the motion moved by Natal Inland delegates urging the PFP Youth to support the aims and principles of the UDF was amended.

Congress decided that at this stage the PFP Youth and the UDF had two different roles to play and that no advantage in supporting it could be gained by the party.

Instead, congress agreed to establish lines of communication with all non-violent extra-parliamentary groups such as the UDF and pro-black-consciousness

groups like the Azanian People's Organisation and the National Forum affiliates.

Speaking in support of the defeated motion recommending that the PFP federal council consider fielding coloured and Indian candidates in the new Houses, Mr Wayne Mitchell, PFP Youth Eastern Cape chairman said: 'The powerbase of the PFP could be strengthened if the party recruited candidates to the two Houses. In a short-term attempt leading to the long-term goal of a "federal system", members of the UDF could also be possible candidates.'

Speaking against the motion, Mr Donovan Gordon, member of the Western Cape executive, said that it would be 'insanity' to participate in the 'dummy chambers'. To do so would be to 'trade the party's credibility' which was the last thing it could afford to do.

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'UDF led by active ANC supporters'

Provincial Reporter

A NATIONAL Party MPC has accused the United Democratic Front of being led by "active supporters of the ANC".

Mr Neels Ackerman, MPC for Stellenbosch, launched his attack in the Provincial Council.

And he challenged Mrs Di Bishop (PFP Gardens) and Mrs Molly Blackburn (PFP Walmer) to say if they were members of the UDF.

Speaking in the "little budget" debate, Mr Ackerman accused the PFP of seeking radical, left-wing support to boost its position as the official Opposition.

"Must say"

Mr Ackerman cited a PFP youth congress motion seeking liaison with non-violent extra-parliamentary organisations, including the UDF.

He said: "I call on the PFP during this debate to say where they stand. There is no doubt that Mrs Bishop and Mrs Blackburn are active members of the UDF. They must say if they are."

He said the leaders of the UDF were active supporters of the banned African National Congress

● Health services in the new dispensation were likely to deteriorate in quality and be "ruinously expensive", Dr John Sonnenberg, Opposition spokesman on hospital services warned the council yesterday.

Referring to the "failure" of health services in the homelands, he said: "Health services in the new dispensation are likely to fail for the same reasons."

● Opposition spokesman on roads, Mr Frank van der Velde, warned of costly and serious consequences of cutbacks in spending on roads.

Citing Cape Town City Council's battle to continue important roads and transport projects last year after the province cut scheduled subsidies, Mr van der Velde said the Government had created the Group Areas Act which forced poor people to live on the periphery of the city and then cut off the funds for roads to get them to their place of work.

Swart: Inkatha sceptical of 'forum'

Political Staff

THE Inkatha movement was still sceptical of the move by the State President, Mr P W Botha, to create a "forum" for discussions with black leaders, Mr Ray Swart, PFP spokesman on black affairs, said in Cape Town yesterday after a meeting with senior members of the organization.

Inkatha still wanted more details of how it

would work said Mr Swart who, with other members of the PFP, met Dr Oscar Dlomo, secretary-general of Inkatha and Kwazulu Minister of Education, Dr Frank Ndhlose, Minister of Health, and Dr Dennis Madide, Minister of the Interior.

With Mr Swart were Mr Nic Oliver, MP and the PFP's chief research officer, Mr Graham McIntosh

(PFP Maritzburg North) and Mr Peter Sole (PFP Johannesburg North).

Mr Swart said the meeting in Cape Town was attended from time to time by the PFP leader, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, who at the weekend called on blacks to join the negotiation process, and other members of the PFP caucus.

The agenda had included a general overview of current political trends

and discussion of the address by Mr Botha at the opening of Parliament, the future of the Buthelezi Commission recommendations, Kwazulu consolidation and population removals in Natal.

Mr Swart said Inkatha had initially rejected participation in the President's forum but said there had been a general view yesterday that more information was re-

quired as to how it would operate and how opened it could be and more specifically what formal negotiation procedures could be considered by the forum.

Inkatha was watching "with great interest" the government's moratorium on removals.

It was also waiting with interest for the latest proposals on consolidation.

Arrests 'not a govt decision'

PRETORIA. — Members of the United Democratic Front who were recently arrested were not detained because they were members of that organization, Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, said.

Mr Botha said they had been arrested as individuals because of alleged contraventions which, in the opinion of an Attorney-General, could lead to prosecution.

Mr Botha was reacting to a statement by the United States State Department in Washington about recent developments in South Africa.

He said he appreciated the fact that the US Government had given recognition and taken note of the positive steps which the South African Government had taken within the framework of its reform programme.

It was, however, a pity that the US Government misunderstood the circumstances under which a number of people had been arrested on charges of high treason.

"It was not a government decision that the people concerned should be arrested. The

decision to prosecute was taken by an Attorney-General on the grounds of a police investigation in terms of the same, comparable legal procedures and principles applicable in all civilized countries in the world," he said.

Trial

The trial of those concerned would take place according to general acceptable criminal procedure rules and principles.

"The SA Government, just like the US Government, does not interfere in the course of law of a government," Mr Botha said.

No-one in South Africa was prosecuted because of his opposition to the government. Various political parties opposed the SA Government in Parliament each day.

Outside, a "considerable" number of opposition newspapers daily criticized the government, sometimes in the harshest way.

"No reform is possible in circumstances where law and order cannot be maintained," Mr Botha said. — Sapa

Sweeter 6/3/85 (50) (11A)

UDF lashes at DET's tactics

THE United Democratic Front yesterday criticised the Department of Education and Training for doing little to resolve disputes at the trouble-torn Mamelodi secondary schools, saying it was abundantly clear that the present education system was more determined to evade genuine problems facing the black pupils.

Reacting to the continued boycott of classes and DET's latest decision to expel students, Mr Moss Chikane, UDF secretary for the Transvaal, argued that no official had the authority to determine the fate and future of the African children.

He added that the present situation had begun to show that promises made earlier about the introduction of

proper communication structures at black schools "were delaying tactics."

Nothing was done to make that a reality and the system was perpetrating "the expulsion of our children from schools".

Better

Mr Chikane pointed out that black parents were also involved in the fight to better black education in the country. But that for DET to refuse heeding the demands made by parents' committees, he said, was declaring such bodies ineffective.

"We in the UDF strongly believe that the progress of our community and the country as a whole, lies in the hands of the people. We also believe that for parents committees to have been able to talk to the

intransigent department of education and training, was very progressive and that they have to be listened to.

"They were elected by the people and are also respected by pupils in our communities," Mr Chikane said.

Pupils at four of the secondary schools in Mamelodi have renewed their class boycotts after learning of the expulsion of eleven of their colleagues from the Vlakfontein Technical High School. They are calling for their immediate reinstatement.

The affected schools are Japhta Mahlangu Secondary School, J Kekana, Mamelodi and Lehlabile high schools.

Mr Edgar Posselt, a press liaison officer for DET, said he did not know of a particular demand by the pupils. Their problems varied, he said.

11A
Boesak annoyed by 'little games'

Staff Reporter

DR ALLAN Boesak today expressed his annoyance with the "strange little games" played by passport officials which forced him to cancel a busy overseas schedule.

He was told on Friday that an application to renew his passport would not be processed "for a week or two" and was advised to cancel a trip during which he would have received a peace prize in Germany.

Today, however, he saw a newspaper report quoting officials saying his passport was ready and he would be able to travel.

"I have yet to be informed of this. In any case I can't go — I have made

alternative arrangements which can't be changed now," he said.

His wife Dorothy was already on her way to Cologne to receive the award.

Dr Boesak said his passport expired on March 2 and he had applied for its renewal on Monday last week.

"I received a letter saying I'd be informed of a decision regarding my application 'as soon as circumstances permit', which I found a curious phrase.

"An official telephoned me on Friday saying there was no chance I'd get my passport in time and advised me to cancel my trip. I am most annoyed. It is typical of the strange little games these people play."

Ovation for Makeba at Royal Festival Hall

From WISEMAN
KHUZWAYO

LONDON. — Miriam Makeba, the internationally-acclaimed exiled South African singer, made a tremendous comeback in London on Monday night after an absence of more than a decade from the British capital.

An audience of more than 2 000 — young and old and including many expatriate South Africans — gave her a rapturous reception at her concert at the Royal Festival Hall.

They clapped, danced, whistled and roared their approval and at the end gave her a standing ovation for two minutes.

For Miss Makeba the day was a double bonus. First, as she pointed out, many people had begun to say that she had passed her prime. But she proved them wrong.

And how better could she have celebrated her comeback to British soil than returning on the day she turned 53?

A bouquet of flowers was presented to her by



Miriam Makeba

Mrs Adelaide Tambo, wife of the president of the African National Congress, as the audience sang: "Happy birthday Miriam..."

The star of King Kong was still her old self and full of humour.

She took her audience through her many South African songs that caught the attention of American calypso singer, Harry Belafonte, in 1959.

But the biggest excitement from the crowd came when she burst into "Phatha Phatha". She

drew the audience along with her beautiful voice, dancing as if she was reliving her times in King Kong.

But it could not have been a Makeba show without "Umngqongqothwana" (the Click Song). The audience had been waiting for it and when it came they erupted with excitement.

Soweto Blues — a composition by Hugh Masekela — was a tribute to those who died in the 1976 riots.

Dubbed the First African Lady, Miss Makeba did not mince her words between songs. She told the crowd that her absence from London had been due to a blacklist by promoters.

She also endorsed the cultural boycott of South Africa saying artists should go to South Africa only when Nelson Mandela was free.

The concert was sponsored by the Labour-led Greater London Council (GLC) as part of its campaign against the government's intervention to abolish it next year.

Botswana asked to expel ANC

Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa has asked the Botswana Government to expel a number of alleged members of the African National Congress, well-placed diplomatic sources said yesterday.

The President of Botswana, Dr Quett Masire, is understood to have personally informed Mr Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC, of the demand during a meeting in Gaborone about ten days ago.

Yesterday, the South African Department of Foreign Affairs said in a telexed reply to an inquiry:

"The Department of Foreign Affairs does not have any comment to make on these rumours.

"RSA authorities, are, however, aware of Botswana's stated policy not to allow Botswana to be used as a springboard for terror attacks against neighbouring states."

The Cape Times also telexed the Office of the

President in Gaborone, and the ANC office in Lusaka. At the time of going to press, no replies had been received.

The South African demand that Botswana expel ANC activists is consistent with its approach to Lesotho on the alleged presence of ANC insurgents there. Lesotho, too, was given a list of ANC members which Pretoria wanted expelled.

The request to Botswana apparently follows alleged infiltration of South Africa and Bophuthatswana by ANC insurgents over the past few months.

It is understood that Botswana security forces have followed up the request by informing a number of alleged ANC members that they should leave the country. It is not clear as yet if any have done so.

The South African request was made, informed sources said yesterday, by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik

Botha, when he met the Botswana Foreign Minister, Dr Gaositwe Chiepe, in Pretoria recently.

Dr Chiepe — who has succeeded Mr Archie Mogwe as foreign minister — was given a list of names of people who live in the Gaborone and Francistown areas.

'Hot pursuit'

It is said to include former South African Mr Patrick Fitzgerald, Mr Nat Serache, a former journalist, and Mr M Pule. Mr Serache and Mr Pule escaped serious injury recently when a Gaborone house they were living in blew up in mysterious circumstances.

● South Africa and Bophuthatswana have both told Botswana that their armies reserved the right to exercise "hot pursuit" operations against ANC insurgents operating from Botswana.

Botswana interpreted the warnings as a "threat of invasion" in an official response.

Shot child's shirt held up in Council

THE bloodstained T-shirt of an eight-year-old KwaNobuhle child hit by birdshot during unrest was held up in the Provincial Council yesterday by Mrs Molly Blackburn, MPC for Walmer.

She was speaking on a motion by Mr Jan van Gend, MPC for Constantia, deploring the loss of life "caused by the increasing conflict and violence between the government and the people", calling on the government to recognize the legitimacy of the grievances of the voteless, and urging it to declare its intent to create a democratic system.

"On the front of this T-shirt, there is a picture of Paddington Bear, and it says 'Please take care of this bear'. On the back, there are bloodstains and holes."

A young woman had told her she was too afraid to take another eight-year-old boy, who had been shot in the stomach, to hospital for fear that he would be arrested "like the others".

Several township doctors had told her of visits from the police, who told them they were not permitted to treat patients with birdshot, rubber bullet or buckshot wounds, but had to send them to hospitals.

She had seen patients being treated for bird-



Mrs Molly Blackburn

shot wounds handcuffed to their beds 24 hours a day, under police guard.

Mr Cornelius Veldtman, MPC for Durbanville, said she gave the impression that the police took action only against the innocent.

"Despite the circumstances of that particular incident, I have confidence in the police," he said. "When they transgress, it is your right to lay a charge."

Mr Jannie Brazelle, MPC for Kimberley-North, put forward an amendment, accepted by 40 votes to 10, which said the cause of the loss of life was the irresponsible actions of some minority groups and reaffirmed the Council's support for the government in its attempt to find solutions to South Africa's problems "in a democratic way".

● Unrest sweeps Eastern Cape, page 2

Boesak's passport delayed

Staff Reporter

DR ALLAN BOESAK, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, said yesterday he would be unable to go to Germany this week to receive a peace prize because the renewal of his passport had been delayed.

He said his wife, Dorothy, would leave South Africa today to take his place at the presentation and make an address on his behalf.

On Sunday he was to receive the Georg Fritze award in Cologne, Germany — a peace prize made by German churches.

Late yesterday, official sources said that Dr Boesak's passport had been renewed and he would be able to attend the award ceremony.

Dr Boesak could not be reached last night and it is not known if he has received his passport.

Dr Boesak said his passport expired on March 2 and he had applied for a renewal last week. He said he had pointed out that he had a busy overseas schedule when he made the application.

He was later told there was "no chance" that he would be given back his passport this week and that it was probable that there would be no decision this week.

11A
6/3/85

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Botha turns down Kennedy's appeal to free the UDF men

11A
Stan
7/3/85

DETROIT — A request by 27 United States senators, including Edward Kennedy, that United States Democratic Front members on high treason charges should be freed has been rejected by the State President, Mr P W Botha.

Letters between the senators and President Botha became available last night.

Here is the text . . .

Dear Mr State President:

We are writing to express our very deep concern and disappointment at the decision of your Government to arrest and detain the leadership of the United Democratic Front on charges of high treason.

This action can only impede the movement

South Africa are acutely aware of the complexities of our country.

We are the people who bear the responsibility for government decisions and it is the inhabitants of this country, ourselves included, who bear the consequences.

Accordingly, we do not pretend that we have all the answers to all of our problems.

We are always grateful to have the opinions of others, provided those opinions are based on a reasonable knowledge of the facts.

Your letter, however, contains several statements which are not correct.

Allow me to illustrate:

● 1 — The decision to arrest and detain the people you refer to was

are given all the assistance which the State normally provides in the prosecution of criminal trials.

The question of their release on bail or otherwise is now in the hands of the Supreme Court of South Africa and not the South African Government.

Your call for them to be immediately released therefore displays a fundamental lack of understanding for the due process of law.

In the light of this I trust you will accept that your remark that "this action throws serious doubt on the good faith of your Government in its dealings with black leaders inside South Africa" is both inappropriate and without any factual

fundamental human values, freedom, dignity and justice for all.

We have firmly embarked on a road of reform with a view to providing the opportunity for participation in political decision-making for all the communities of South Africa.

A RULE

In the economic, educational and social spheres the standards of well-being of South Africa's peoples, including her black peoples, compare more than favourably with the rest of Africa.

The South African Government subscribes to the rule of law, but it is not prepared to sacrifice the people committed to its care to



The Senator . . . Edward Kennedy.



The President . . . Mr P W Botha.

and detain the leadership of the United Democratic Front on charges of high treason.

This action can only impede the movement toward peaceful change inside South Africa and increase the polarisation between the white and black communities inside your country. In your speech to Parliament last month, you expressed your Government's willingness to begin discussions with leaders from the black community about ways of accommodating the legitimate political aspirations of black South Africans in the life of your country.

A SIGN

We took that to be a positive and hopeful sign that such discussions might begin in the near future.

In this context, these most recent arrests are most disheartening. This action throws serious doubt on the good faith of your Government in its dealings with black leaders inside South Africa.

It can only increase the likelihood of continued racial violence inside your country.

We are from different political parties inside the United States and we differ on what our own Government's policy towards South Africa should be.

But we do not disagree on at least two matters: apartheid is an evil that must be brought to an end, and the United Democratic Front leadership should be immediately released. Signed by Edward Kennedy and 26 others. In reply President Botha wrote . . .

Dear Senator Kennedy: I am in receipt of your letter dated 22 February 1985, in which you and several of your colleagues in the United States Senate express concern and disappointment at the arrest of a number of people in South Africa on charges of high treason.

A DECISION

I and my Government welcome constructive criticism. We who live with the everyday realities of

statements which are not correct.

Allow me to illustrate:

● 1 — The decision to arrest and detain the people you refer to was taken by the Attorney-General (a senior official of the Department of Justice) after studying a dossier submitted to him by the South African Police. The decision was not taken by the Government, as suggested in your letter. It was not a political decision.

In fact, it will interest you to know that the Government only became aware of these arrests after they had been made.

● 2 — The arrests and the charges laid against these individuals do not arise from their membership of the United Democratic Front.

Indeed, police investigations into this case commenced some time before the formation of the United Democratic Front.

● 3 — The individuals you refer to do not constitute the leadership of the United Democratic Front.

Information at my disposal indicates that the organisation in question has many other "leaders" who are not involved in the charges under discussion. The fact that those who are charged fill some leadership roles in the United Democratic Front is coincidental.

● 4 — The people concerned have been arrested in terms of the Criminal Procedure Act. They are not being held in terms of security legislation.

A LAW

They have been charged for alleged offences under this country's criminal law which is not dissimilar to the criminal law of other Western countries, including the United States of America. Once charged, the people concerned appeared in court within 48 hours, as required by the law, where the case was remanded until later next month. They are free to choose their own defence and

Government in its dealings with black leaders inside South Africa" is both inappropriate and without any factual foundation. The courts in South Africa have a proud tradition of independence.

The Government cannot interfere in any court proceedings in this country.

The high standing, integrity and independence of the South African judiciary are generally accepted throughout the world by those acquainted with the legal profession and legal activity in South Africa. The rule of law may mean different things to different people, but there is general agreement that it requires that a person on trial:

● Be accused in open court.

● Be given an opportunity of denying the charge and of defending himself.

● Be given the choice of a counsel.

These rights are assured for the accused in question.

It is no offence in South Africa to oppose the South African Government.

A SECTION

As a matter of fact the South African Government is opposed by quite a number of opposition parties. Daily a large section of the South African Press vigorously criticises the South African Government and its actions.

No action is nor can be taken in South African law against opponents of the South African Government as long as their opposition is conducted in a constitutional manner.

Persons who incidentally are also opponents of the South African Government have been convicted in the courts of offences ranging from parking offences to murder.

But then so have persons who support the Government.

The South African Government is as much concerned as any other civilised state about

The South African Government subscribes to the rule of law, but it is not prepared to sacrifice the people committed to its care to terrorist actions.

It is and remains the responsibility of every state to guarantee the security of its people.

There is no reason why South Africa should be an exception.

It need hardly be said, therefore, that whatever decision is eventually reached by the Supreme Court the Government will, as always, respect and abide by it.

In your letter you refer to my speech to Parliament last month in which, you say, I expressed my Government's willingness to begin discussions with leaders from the black community about ways of accommodating the legitimate political aspirations of black South Africans.

I and my Government have been consulting with black leaders for many years now.

As South Africa has evolved politically, economically and socially, so the substance and the frequency of these discussions and consultations have changed.

I remain willing to consult with all leaders in this country who reject violence as a political instrument, ie all leaders with whom it makes sense to talk and negotiate about peaceful and orderly constitutional reform.

We are continually identifying new bases for discussions with black leaders and my address to Parliament last month had the effect of building upon the established pattern of consultation and negotiation.

We have every intention of continuing this process.

I enclose a copy of my speech for your further information.

It is a matter of some concern to me and my Government that American legislators, such as yourself, who seek to propose legislation in the United States Congress on



The Senator . . . Edward

matters which directly affect South Africa, should be so fundamentally uninformed and misinformed about this country.

A LEVEL

If this is the level at which American legislation vis-a-vis other countries is motivated and formulated it becomes particularly difficult to understand how America's global interests and those of the free world are to be served and protected.

It would seem to us that without objective and accurate assessments of the realities underlying the many complex situations in the world, America's capacity to protect its interests and those of the free world will be severely jeopardised.

I would have thought that your recent visit to South Africa might have gone some way towards adding to your knowledge of this country. That is evidently not the case.

Apart from that, the South African Embassy in Washington is open to all who seek information about this country, and will always be willing to assist anyone who wishes to base his or her criticism of South Africa on at least the basic facts.

A BRAND

We in South Africa obviously do not expect foreigners to be fully conversant with events in our country, but we do take strong exception when outsiders single us out for their own selective brand of moral indignation and presume to lecture us on elementary procedures of law and of government. I shall be asking the South African Ambassador in Washington to make copies of this reply available to the co-signatories of your letter.

Yours faithfully,
P W Botha.

Call for SA oil embargo

11A 5/3/85
The Star Bureau

LONDON — The ANC and Swapo have joined forces in calling for worldwide oil sanctions against South Africa to speed the downfall of apartheid.

The call was made in a joint statement issued by ANC president Oliver Tambo and Swapo president Sam Nujoma.

Their appeal, issued from Lusaka in Zambia, was released in London and in other European, African, Asian and Middle Eastern capitals.

March 13 has been designated "International Oil Embargo Day" with demonstrations, rallies and lobbying planned for in or near most West European parliaments.

Cape Times 7/3/85 (11A) (10)

Botswana denies report on ANC

Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — Botswana has denied being asked by South Africa to expel a number of African National Congress members.

Reacting to a report

which appeared in yesterday's Cape Times that such a request had been made, the Office of the President, Dr Quett Masire, said in a telexed reply: "There is no truth in the allegation that the South African Government has asked the gov-

ernment of Botswana to expel a number of members of the African National Congress now resident in Botswana."

Mr Botha's department yesterday described the information as "rumours" and said that it had no comment to make.

Swaziland frees SA refugee

The Star's Foreign News Service

7/3/85

MBABANE — A Swazi judge has ordered the release of a South African refugee who was detained by police more than two weeks ago and held without charge.

In papers filed by Mr Terence Tryon, it was shown that he has valid refugee status in Swaziland until December.

Mr Justice Ben Dunn ordered that the police pay the costs of the action.

Mr Tryon was arrested with a British woman, Mrs Felicia Forrest, who administered a scholarship scheme from Swaziland.

Mrs Forrest was later released. She left Swaziland last week.

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DENNIS GOLDBERG

A scientific socialist

11A



Dennis Goldberg served 22 years in jail after being convicted on security charges before being released on signing an undertaking not to promote, instigate

or participate in violent acts for political ends. He spoke to the *FM* from his new home at Kibbutz Ma'ayan Baruch in Israel.

FM: What effect did 22 years behind bars have on your political views?

Goldberg: I was, and remain, a scientific socialist. I am dedicated to the existence of a free and united South Africa. Can that be achieved only through armed struggle?

Not at all. Prior to my release from prison, I wrote a memorandum to President P W Botha in which I explained my political beliefs and urged him to release all political prisoners, legalise the African National Congress (ANC) and al-

low the holding of normal, peaceful elections with the participation of all parties. If those conditions were met, there would be no need for armed struggle.

Did he reply to your memorandum?

No.

But you yourself have renounced violence?

I signed a personal undertaking not to promote, instigate or participate in violent acts for the achievement of political ends. It is an individual undertaking. It does not bind anyone else.

What if President Botha were to accept all or some of your proposals? Would the ANC be prepared to co-operate with the government?

In my memorandum I suggested the convening of a national convention. I would be prepared to participate in such a convention, and I'm sure that my comrades would be willing as well.

Breyten Breytenbach and others have strongly criticised the ANC as a fractured, totalitarian organisation. Is that where your allegiance still lies?

I have been out of contact for so long I cannot comment on the state of the ANC. Certainly, it would be a tragedy if the ANC has gone sour, but years of exile lead to this sort of thing.

The degree of splitting is indirectly proportional to the degree of practical effectiveness. Nevertheless, I believe that the ANC has done a fantastic job abroad. People the world over equate apartheid with evil.

Is your "scientific socialism" the way the country must necessarily go?

The people will decide. What the government does not understand is that in a free vote blacks will vote for an end to apartheid, but not necessarily for Marxism. Some will vote communist, others socialist, others capitalist. If a bourgeois, democratic SA were to be established, I would have achieved half of my life's work.

What are your plans now?

I've only been out for a few days. First I must regain my strength and be with my family. I will continue to fight apartheid.

12
Calls for Goldberg
to be expelled

The Star's Foreign News Service

JERUSALEM — A right-wing Israeli politician has called for the expulsion of Mr Dennis Goldberg from Israel after claims that he supports the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

Israel Radio said that Mrs Geula Cohen, a member of the Tehiyah Party, who called Mr Goldberg a "dangerous man", had asked the Minister of the Interior to expel him.

She said Mr Goldberg "supports terror even against innocents".

The claim about Mr Goldberg and terrorism was made in an article in the magazine, *Coteret Rashit*. It said: "Dennis Goldberg defends terror, even Palestine terror."

"The ANC is the PLO of South Africa. Oliver Tambo is its Yasser Arafat."

In the *Coteret Rashit* article, journalist Tom Segév said Mr Goldberg's beliefs condoned and encouraged terror in South Africa. Such terror attacks could injure innocent passers-by.

Mr Goldberg was quoted as saying that often the passers-by were not innocent.

Mr Segev said Mr Goldberg added: "Most of the whites in South Africa support the oppressionist Government."

"They vote for the Government, they are for the oppression and, therefore, they are not innocent."

Other opinion

THE UDF is behind the unrest in this country and it is busy creating a revolutionary climate. Arrest the UDF leadership and the unrest will end and the revolutionary climate change. Right? No, wrong.

Most of the UDF leaders have been arrested and yet the unrest continues. This raises questions which need to be answered. They affect the whole strategy of how the present inflammable situation should be handled . . .

Merely to act against people who undermine and inflame is therefore only half the answer. In fact it is the lesser half, because to remove them from society will serve no purpose unless the circumstances are not dealt with directly.

It should be remembered that one man's agitator is another man's leader . . .

We cannot restore peace in the country by arresting people.

The real reasons, namely the absence of political rights, daily frustrations arising from the unequal treatment which is the black man's lot . . . are matters that need to be addressed.

It is not that this isn't being done . . . The message of what is being done is not reaching those who can be persuaded to act by "agitators".

— Harald Pakendorf in Die Vaderland

(11A) ~~11A~~ Star 9/3/85



**Buthelezi
on attack
after US
campaign**

'Boesak, Winnie delay liberty'

CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi, fresh from his recent tour of the USA, has attacked Dr Allan Boesak and Mrs Winnie Mandela, for, he says, "delaying" the liberation of South Africa.

Addressing a news conference in Durban after his anti-disinvestment campaign in America, Chief Buthelezi said yesterday he had heard Mrs Mandela criticise him in a broadcast while he was overseas.

The content of Mrs Mandela's statement, quoted by Chief Buthelezi, cannot be published. She is banned.

He slammed her statement, saying he was "deeply hurt and shocked", especially because Nelson Mandela was a friend of the Buthelezi family.



WINNIE MANDELA



ALLAN BOESAK

day of liberation . . . and I am fearful for the future if what should be a healthy democratic debate about what alternatives we face, is turned into internecine strife of the kind which has had civil war as its aftermath in this subcontinent and Africa further afield."

"I am distressed that she is allowing herself to be used to drive a wedge between myself and her husband just because she is the wife of a revered and respected leader in this country," he said.

Referring to Dr Boesak, he said: "He has been lifted above the people by others and he is growing so in importance in his own view that he is blind to the lessons of history.

"He is apparently unaware how deeply he is now offending millions of his fellow black South Africans. His morality is suspect.

"His political fidelity is questionable and his faithfulness to the people he professes to love is more than suspect," said Chief Buthelezi.

His anti-Boesak tirade was prompted by remarks allegedly made by Dr Boesak in Maputo that "on all of the major issues Buthelezi finds himself more on the side of the South African Government than on the side of the South African people".

Chief Buthelezi commented: "It is South Africans of the ilk of Allan Boesak and Winnie Mandela who compound our problems and delay the

Press 10/3/85

MINERS WILL END BOYCOTT 'IF SHOPOWNERS MEET DEMANDS'

By HERMAN LETSIE

THE three-month-old boycott of "shark shops" on Kloof Gold Mine near Westonaria will be called off at the end of March if shopowners meet mineworkers' demands.

A spokesperson of workers, who are members of the 110 000-strong National Union of Mineworkers, told City Press that four demands have been set before the boycott is called off.

The conditions to be met

by shopowners are that they:

- Stop harassing miners;
- Stop offering bubble gum in place of small change;
- Stop selling rotten food to the miners, and
- Charge legal prices on all goods.

A NUM official in Johannesburg told City Press that a shopowner contacted NUM's office, saying they were prepared to meet workers' demands.

The official said there was nothing their office could do, "because the whole matter lies with the mineworkers at Kloof". The loss incurred by the shops during the boycott is estimated at millions.

Ngoye report 'coming soon'

THE long-awaited report into violence at the University of Zululand in 1983 has been handed to Co-operation and Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen.

The report was written by a one-person committee — Professor A J Middleton — who was appointed to investigate the incident in which several people died.

Viljoen said that he would submit it to the Government soon, but he could not reveal the contents until it was tabled in Parliament or was made public by the State President.

By MONO BADELA

10/3/84
C. Press
AFRICAN IIA National Congress C. Press defector Nkonono Kave, who testified in 1982 before a United States Senate judicial sub-committee in Washington, was this week admitted to the Livingstone Hospital in Port Elizabeth after suffering from acute emotional disturbance.

She was discharged after being observed by doctors for more than six hours.

She told City Press she had become hysterical after a white man at the offices of a Port Elizabeth daily newspaper had threatened to report her to the police.

She had gone there to inquire about an interview she gave to a journalist, which had not been carried by the newspaper.

When she became hysterical, an ambulance was summoned to take her to Livingston Hospital.

Ms Kave said: "I was not treated decently. They threatened to call the police and I became upset.

"I said: 'Call them, I am not afraid of the police'.

"They thought they were going to terrorise me with the police."

However, a spokesman for the newspaper said Ms Kave started screaming and was complaining about police behavior. He said she then became hysterical and an ambulance was summoned.

City Press visited her at the hospital about five hours later, and found she was being kept in one of the rest rooms of the casualty section under observation.

In 1982 Ms Kave told the Denton sub-committee of the United States Senate that the ANC was communist-controlled. She said she stood by what she told the sub-committee on terrorism but she was far from being anti-ANC.

THE VOTE

11A

PREVIOUS POLL

ANC won a massive 35 per cent which has not been seen in any other poll.

ANC vote winner Nelson Mandela, Ministers Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki and others.

ANC Pollsmoor prisoners, the ANC, Sisulu, Mbeki and Kathrada were also voted in among the top 20.

ANC a trialist who missed the top 20.

ANC short of the Top 20; ANC once prisoner at the time of the Rivonia trial and, ANC a member of the Government's only white life-sentence prisoners.

ANC life-sentence prisoner who, ANC rejected the Government's offer of a life-sentence.

ANC Communist Congress leader ANC life-sentence imposed in the ANC.

NOTICES

ANC Press Vote, the banned ANC Congress Alliance allies ANC — six in the top 20.

ANC no, Walter Sisulu and ANC between them, just under ANC.

ANC activists on the list are: life-sentence prisoner Mhlaba; Andrew Mlangeni (ANC); secretary general Thabo Mbeki, Johnny Mabhida, Joe Slovo and ANC (ANC general secretary) ANC ANC leader Joe Mabhida; Duma Nokwe; Barolong Mahlangu; former ANC.

THIS is how the readers' vote looks in percentages. The boxes together represent 100 percent — and the size of each box shows how each leader scored compared to the others.

NELSON MANDELA 18,5%

OLIVER TAMBO 14,9%

DESMOND TUTU 9,7%

WALTER SISULU 9,2%

ANC TOPS THE POLL

JUST two weeks after Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange told an American journalist the African National Congress was losing popularity, representatives of the organisation have taken more than half the votes in the City Press Vote — 56 per cent.

And while support for the banned organisation is clear, our voters' opposition to the Nationalist Government and those working with it, or within its structures, goes even further — just 15 per cent of the vote went to "moderates".

Without Inkatha leader Gatsha Buthelezi's 4,7 per cent and the 4,1 and 4 per cent of

ANALYSIS

Obviously pro-ANC voters named black consciousness leaders among the five leaders they named, as did UDF voters.

Azapo and BC voters did the same — including ANC or UDF leaders in the five leaders they named.

Almost one percent of the five percent who voted for Chief Buthelezi appeared to have done so from within the ranks of UDF and Azapo supporters.

Others looked further afield, naming PFP leaders Frederick van Zyl Slabbert and Helen Suzman alongside Umkhonto we Sizwe leader Joe Modise, ANC leaders Oliver Tambo and Mandela and Azapo president Ishmael Mkhabela.

Others, but not many, took it even further, naming President PW Botha alongside Joe Slovo —

although Slovo's Government-created reputation as "public enemy No 1" certainly did him no harm in the vote.

He came in 13th out of 115, taking just over half of the votes polled for whites, with 15 per cent of the total. Mr Botha scored just half a percent.

Coloured and Indian leaders in the new three-chamber parliament scored even worse, whereas those outside the system scored well — Allan Boesak and Ahmed Kathrada in the Top 20, Billy Nair, Saths Cooper, Mewa Ramgobin and others in the top 50.

But the most important indicator remains the top 20 names — they account for 9,5 per cent of the vote — more than 19 out of 20 votes cast.

● Prizewinners will be announced next week.

WOMEN POWER

ONLY 12 women appear among the 115 people for whom the readers voted.

Jailed

(1) NELSON MANDELA:



(2) OLIVER TAMBO



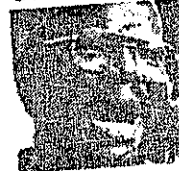
(3) DESMOND TUTU

Jailed.

(4) WALTER SISULU

Awaiting trial.

(5) ARCHIE GUMEDE



(6) GATSHA

(11) ALBERTINA SISULU

Awaiting trial.

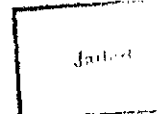
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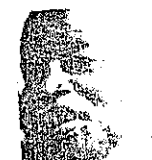
(13) JOE SLOVO

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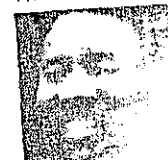
(14) AHMED KATHRADA



(15) OSCAR MPETHA



(16) CYRIL RAMAPHOSA



(17)

POLITICAL prisoners in SA jails won a massive 35 percent of the vote — although most have not been seen in public for two decades.

Most popular are City Press Vote winner Nelson Mandela and fellow Pollsmoor prisoners Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki and Ahmed Kathrada, all of whom came in the Vote's Top 20.

But other Robben Island and Pollsmoor prisoners, the majority colleagues of Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki and Kathrada from the Rivonia trial, were also voted in among the 100-plus "candidates".

Raymond Mhlaba, a Rivonia trialist who missed the top 20 by 10 votes;

Andrew Mlangeni, 32 votes short of the Top 20;

Dennis Goldberg (a life-sentence prisoner at the time of the vote), jailed for life after the Rivonia trial and, until his acceptance last Saturday of the Government's conditional release offer, the only white life-sentence political prisoner;

Elias Motsoaledi, ANC life-sentence prisoner who, with all except Goldberg, has rejected the Government's offer; and

Zeph Mothopeng, Pan-Africanist Congress leader who has served half the 15-year-sentence imposed in the Bethal Trial.

ANC FIGURES

WITH 56 percent of the total City Press Vote, the banned African National Congress and its Congress Alliance allies has a total of 24 people on the list — six in the top 20.

Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo, Walter Sisulu and Govan Mbeki dominate with, between them, just under half of all votes cast.

Other ANC members and activists on the list are: life prisoners Ahmed Kathrada; Raymond Mhlaba; Andrew Mlangeni; Elias Motsoaledi (Dennis Goldberg was a political prisoner at the time of the vote); secretary general Alfred Nzo; executive members Thabo Mbeki, Johnny Makatini; SACP leader Moses Mabhida, Joe Slovo and Moses Kotane (deceased), former SACP general secretary) Braam Fischer (deceased) Umkhonto weSizwe leader Joe Modise; Sactu leader John Nkadimeng; Duma Nokwe; Barney Pitso; executed guerilla Solomon Mahlangu; former presidents James Moroka and Albert Luthuli (both deceased); Robert Resha (deceased).

FOREIGNERS

SEVEN non-South Africans were voted onto the list — all with less than a tenth of a percent of the vote: Swapo leader Sam Nujoma; Swapo founder Herman Toivo ja Toivo, freed from Robben Island last year; Jonas Savimbi, head of the SA-backed Unita movement in Angola; Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda; Mozambique president Samora Machel; Zimbabwe president Robert Mugabe; and American anti-apartheid activist Jesse Jackson.

Political comment in this issue by P Selwyn-Smith and P Qobooza, newsbills by P Selwyn-Smith, headlines and sub-editing by D Niddrie, all of 204 Eloff Ext, JHB.

NELSON MANDELA 18,5%

OLIVER TAMBO 14,9%

DESMOND TUTU 9,7%

WALTER SISULU 9,2%

ARCHIE GUMEDE 5,4%

GATSHA BUTHELEZI 4,7%

GOVAN MBEKI 4,5%

CEDRIC PHATHUDI 4,1%

ENOS MABUZA 4,0%

ALLAN BOESAK 3,1%

ALBERTINA SISULU 1,6%

TERROR LEKOTA 1,6%

JOE SLOVO 1,5%

AHMED KATHRADA 1,2%

OSCAR MPHETHA 1,1%

CYRIL RAMAPHOSA 1,0%

ISHMAEL MKHABELA 1,0%

NTHATO MOTLANA 0,9%

WINNIE MANDELA 0,8%

PERCY QOBOZA 0,7%

THE REST 10%

THE NEXT 20 leaders are: Denis Hurley, Raymond Mhlaba, Beyers Naude, PW Botha, Denis Goldberg, Helen Suzman, John Pokela, Alfred Nzo, Joe Modise, F Van Zyl Slabbert, Y S Chinsamy, Curtis Nkondo, Andrew Mlangeni, Dorothy Nvempu, Chris Olamini, Billy Nair, Audrey Mokoena, Saths Cooper, Donald Woods and Nokukhanya Mkhumbi.

THE

JUST two weeks after Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange told an American journalist the African National Congress was losing popularity, representatives of the organisation have taken more than half the votes in the City Press Vote — 56 percent.

And while support for the banned organisation is clear, our voters' opposition to the Nationalist Government and those working with it, or within its structures, goes even further — just 15 percent of the vote went to "moderates".

Without Inkatha leader Gatsha Buthelezi's 4,7 percent and the 4,1 and 4 percent of homeland leaders Cedric Phatudi and Enos Mabuza — both rode into the Top 20 with the help of Inkatha voters — this figure dwindles to just over two percent.

And representatives of legal organisations, such as Azapo, the UDF and trade unions, operating outside Government structures, between them took almost 28 percent — almost double the "moderates" figure.

An equally important factor is that, while the voters firmly rejected apartheid and strongly backed those most obviously combatting it, many — possibly even a majority — clearly saw a need for broad coalitions to rule South Africa.

WHITE PO

WHILE just three percent of the votes cast went to white men and women — 14 in all — more than half of those went to the man sometimes branded as SA's public enemy No 1: Communist Joe Slovo.

With almost 51 percent of all votes cast for white "candidates", Slovo was the only one to reach the Top 20, although Archbishop Denis Hurley missed by just five votes.

Three votes behind him came SACC secretary-general Beyers Naude, banned in 1976 in the Government crackdown on — mainly — black consciousness organisations and individuals.

Hard on his heels comes SA president and Nat Party leader PW Botha, just two votes ahead of convicted anti-apartheid saboteur Den-

THE POLL

ANALYSIS

Obviously, pro-ANC voters named black consciousness leaders among the five leaders they named, as did UDF voters.

Azapo and BC voters did the same — including ANC or UDF leaders in the five leaders they named.

Almost one percent of the five percent who voted for Chief Buthelezi appeared to have done so from within the ranks of UDF and Azapo supporters.

Others looked further afield, naming PFP leaders Frederick van Zyl Slabbert and Helen Suzman alongside Umkhonto we Sizwe leader Joe Modise, ANC leaders Oliver Tambo and Mandela and Azapo president Ishmael Mkhabela.

Others, but not many, took it even further, naming President PW Botha alongside Joe Slovo —

although Slovo's Government-created reputation as "public enemy No 1" certainly did him no harm in the vote.

He came in 13th out of 115, taking just over half of the votes polled for whites, with 15 percent of the total. Mr Botha scored just half a percent.

Coloured and Indian leaders in the new three-chamber parliament scored even worse, whereas those outside the system scored well — Allan Boesak and Ahmed Kathrada in the Top 20, Billy Nair, Saths Cooper, Mewa Ramgobin and others in the top 50.

But the most important indicator remains the top 20 names — they account for 9,5 percent of the vote — more than 19 out of 20 votes cast.

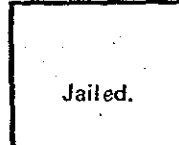
● Prizewinners will be announced next week.



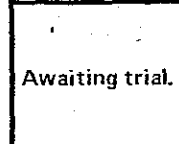
(2) OLIVER TAMBO



(3) DESMOND TUTU



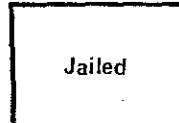
(4) WALTER SISULU



(5) ARCHIE GUMEDE



(6) GATSHA BUTHELEZI



(7) GOVAN MBEKI



(8) CEDRIC PHATHUDI



(9) ENOS MABUZA

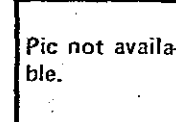


(10) ALLAN BOESAK

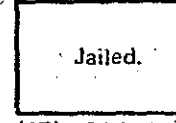
(12) TERROR LEKOTA



(13) JOE SLOVO



(14) AHMED KATHRADA



(15) OSCAR MPETHA



(16) CYRIL RAMAPHOSA



(17) ISHMAEL MKHABELA



(18) NTHATO MOTLANA



(19) WINNIE MANDELA



(20) PERCY QOBOZA



again Press COINTEGRATION

MARCH 10, 1985

THAT Education and Training Department officials are bully-boys is a fact generally acknowledged. That they are insensitive is something we suspect they take the greatest pride in.

Hundreds of teachers were taken aback when they received their pay cheques recently. Deductions were made — the DET wasn't even decent enough to inform them why those deductions were made.

In the Vaal complex, rumours were flying that the deductions were to pay the rent which is being boycotted.

And when this newspaper tried to clarify the matter, we were fobbed off with the usual "We don't discuss our employees' salaries with the Press."

Now it seems the DET deducted the money because of the November stayaway — three months after the event!

If that is not vindictive, we don't know what it is.

More than other workers, teachers are prone to the violence of township unrest.

While Putco buses and their passengers are escorted by hippos in and out of townships, nobody protects teachers when they walk to and from school.

We have already said what we think about the DET. Add to that list their total disregard for the safety and lives of their employees.

'Observe PE black weekend'

PORT Elizabeth townships will observe a "Black Long Weekend" from March 16 — there will be work stay-aways and a boycott of city businesses and transport services in protest against the cost of living, bus and train fare increases.

The movement was called for by the... (text partially obscured)

WOMEN POWER

ONLY 12 women appear among the 115 people for whom the readers voted.

Two, Albertina Sisulu and Winnie Mandela — both wives of Pollsmoor prisoners, but public figures in their own right — appear in the Top 20.

Veteran PFP human rights campaigner Helen Suzman is the next woman on the list — 26th in popularity — followed by ex-ANC political prisoner Dorothy Nyembe, in 33rd place.

Other women on the list are: Mrs Nokokhanya Luthuli, wife of the late Albert Luthuli, ANC president when the movement was banned in 1964 and this country's first Nobel Peace Prize winner; Dr Mamphele Ramphele, community doctor and former close associate of Steve Biko; Durban activist Dr Fatima Meer; veteran activist and unionist Helen Joseph, now a UDF patron; Black Sash leader Sheena Duncan; Soweto social worker Ellen Khuzwayo; Garment Workers' Union leader Lucy Mvubelo; and Operation Hunger organiser Ina Perlman.

CHURCH POWER

ONE in six of the votes cast was for a churchman.

Nobel Peace Prize winner Desmond Tutu leads the list of churchmen, followed closely by Rev Allen Boesak — also in the Top 20 — president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

In the No 21 slot is Catholic Archbishop Denis Hurley.

Two places down is SACC general secretary Beyers Naude.

Other churchmen are:

Natal Joint Rent Action Committee leader Rev Mcebisi Xundu; Cabinet Minister Alan Hendrickse; and Anglican Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, author of *Naught for Your Comfort* — and, since he left SA in the early 60s, a champion of the foreign anti-apartheid campaign.

POWER

nis Goldberg (at the time of The Vote, Goldberg had not yet been freed under the Government amnesty program).

Immediately behind Goldberg comes the PFP's Helen Suzman, with PFP leader Frederick van Zyl Slabbert two slots behind her — in 40th place.

Others on the list are: banned ex-Daily Dispatch editor Donald Woods, now in exile; veteran Helen Joseph; Black Sash president Sheena Duncan; Afrikaner author and leader of the Okhela movement Breyten Breytenbach; one-time SA Communist Party leader Braam Fisher, who died in the early 70s; Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, former Sopiatawn priest; and Operation Hunger organiser Ina Perlman.

NEWSMEN ALSO IN

SIX journalists were among the 100-plus people the readers voted for: City Press' Percy Qoboza who came in 20th; banned ex-Daily Dispatch editor Donald Woods, now living in exile; Zwelakhe Sisulu, former Mwaas president and son of ANC leader Walter Sisulu and UDF president Albertina Sisulu; former Soweto social worker Ellen Khuzwayo; Sam Mabe and Sowetan editor Ina Perlman.

THE VOTE

MANDELA

11A
C. Press
10/3/85

NELSON MANDELA has won the City Press Vote — with more than 1 118 votes.

Jailed for life and not seen in public for the last 22 years, former African National Congress leader Mandela won a staggering 19 percent of the City Press Vote.

That is almost one out of every five votes cast by City Press readers. In second slot, just 200 votes behind, is **ANC president Oliver Tambo**.

In total, ANC representatives took more than half the votes cast — a massive 56 percent.

Third is **Nobel Peace Prize winner Desmond Tutu** winning one in every 10 votes cast — despite his repeated protestations that he is neither a leader nor a politician.

Just 30 votes behind him, in fourth place, comes **Walter Sisulu** who has been with Mandela behind bars and out of the public eye for 20 years.

Readers also voted in Sisulu's wife, **United Democratic Front president Albertina** (11th place), and son, journalist **Zwelakhe**.

UDF president Archie Gumede comes in fifth, winning one in 20 of the votes cast. Forty votes behind comes **KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha leader Gatscha Buthelezi**.

He's followed by a third ANC life-sentence Pollsmoor prisoner, **Govan Mbeki**,

whose son Thabo, a member of the ANC National Executive Committee, was also voted in.

Homeland leaders **Cedric Phatu** and **Enos Mabuza** came in next, each scoring a surprisingly high four percent of the vote.

Both men can thank their positions to Inkatha supporters, the vast majority of whom included them in their votes for Chief

1 in 5
vote for
Mandela
-after
22 years
in jail

- Buthelezi.
- Others in the top 20 are:
- World Alliance of Reform Churches president Allan Boesak,
 - UDF president Albertinah Sisulu,
 - UDF publicity secretary Patrick "Terror" Lekota,
 - Communist Joe Slovo — the highest scoring white candidate,
 - ANC life-sentence prisoner Ahmed Kathrada,
 - UDF president Oscar Mphetha,
 - Mineworkers' union leader Cyril Ramaphosa,
 - Azanian People's Organisation president Ismael Mkhabela,
 - Soweto Civic Association president Nthato Motlana,
 - Winnie Mandela, banned wife of The Vote winner, and
 - City Press associate editor Percy Qoboza.



City Press Vote winner Mandela during the Treason Trial. It is illegal to publish photos of him.

THE VOTE
Full reports on Page 2

ARGUS 11/3/85 11A

Mandela tops black popularity poll

The Argus correspondent in Johannesburg reports on the results of an opinion poll among blacks on the "true" leaders of South Africa

AFTER 22 years in jail African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela still tops the polls as the "real" leader of South Africa, according to the black Sunday newspaper City Press.

In its early edition last weekend the paper announced the results of an opinion poll on the "real leaders" of South Africa taken among blacks over the last three weeks.

ANC personalities polled a clear majority — totalling 56 percent of the vote and filling six of the top 20 spots.

Mandela took 18,5 percent of the vote, with ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo close behind on 14,9 percent.

They were followed by Nobel laureate Bishop Desmond Tutu (9,7 percent), jailed ANC general secretary Walter Sisulu (9,2 percent) and Unit-

ed Democratic Front president Mr Archie Gumede (5,4 percent).

City Press pointed out that this vote of confidence in the ANC came "just two weeks after Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange told an American journalist the ANC was losing popularity."

It added: "And while support for the banned organisation is clear our voters' opposition to the Nationalist Government and those working with it, or within its structures, goes even further — just 15 percent of the vote went to 'moderates'."

The paper remarked: "Without Inkatha leader Gatsha Buthelezi's 4,7 percent and the 4,1 and four percent of homeland leaders Cedric Phatudi and Enos Mabuza, this figure (for

moderate leaders) dwindles to just over two percent."

Representatives of legal organisations such as the UDF, the Azanian People's Organisation and trade unions operating outside Government structures between them amassed 28 percent of the vote - double the number achieved by the "moderates".

A significant portion (35 percent) of the vote went to jailed men, most of them the Rivonia trialists who recently rejected Pretoria's offer of conditional release.

The most popular political family is surely the Sisulus - with Walter and Albertina Sisulu both in the top 20, and their journalist son, Zwelakhe, also on the list of contenders.

UDF elects

11A star 11/3/85
awaiting

trial Sisulu

Mrs Albertina Sisulu, confined to Durban Central Prison and awaiting trial for treason, has been re-elected unopposed as Transvaal president of the United Democratic Front.

The circumstances of her election for a second term are reminiscent of those when she was chosen as the first president of the UDF Transvaal region — she was then in jail facing charges of furthering the aims of the African National Congress.

One of the region's three vice-presidents, Professor Ismail Mohamed, is also among the 16 who are to be tried for treason in Durban. The other vice-presidents are Mr Samson Ndou, president of the General and Allied Workers' Union, and Dr R A M Salojee, vice-president of the Transvaal Indian Congress.

The weekend's general meeting of the Transvaal region of the UDF resulted in a streamlined organisational structure with a smaller 18-member executive. Positions have been filled largely by people who have played an important role in building the organisation and strengthening its affiliates, but have previously been without portfolio.

114 3000

Survey: Need for black/white 'forum'

Political Reporter
MORE THAN 80 percent of white South Africans, including most CP and HNP supporters, believe a forum for consultation between government and black leaders is necessary.

And support for the Conservative Party has grown to its highest since March 1983.

These are some of the findings of a country-wide opinion survey among some 2 000 white South Africans

conducted by Mark en Meningopnames (Pty) Ltd and published in the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper Rapport yesterday.

The survey sample was canvassed before plans for such a forum were announced recently.

A vast majority of respondents, 82,3 percent, said such a forum was necessary, with 7,9 percent saying it was not. The rest were uncertain.

The newspaper noted there was little difference between English and Afrikaans speakers on this matter — 80,6 percent of Afrikaans speakers and 85,3 percent of English speakers were in favour of consultation.

"Unexpectedly," the newspaper said, "71 percent of CP supporters and 54 percent of HNP supporters also believed such a forum was necessary." The only group that disapproved such a forum was the "small hand-

ful" of English-speaking CP supporters, it said.

But 38,2 percent were also in favour of negotiation with organizations such as the UDF and Azapo and only 16 percent felt they should include the ANC. (The total is more than 100 percent because respondents could give more than one answer).

Almost 13 percent of NP supporters said there should be discussion with the ANC and 37 percent, with Azapo and the UDF.

On the nature of the fo-

rum, most respondents — 51,2 percent — felt it should be merely advisory, while 24,5 percent felt it should be able to take binding decisions. The remainder did not know what form it should take.

Afrikaans-speaking support for the NP had dropped about nine percent since July last year while its support among English speakers had grown to 37 percent of English speakers, close to the 39 percent for the PFP, it found.

It was significant that the English speakers who supported the NP during and after the referendum still did so, Rapport said.

The survey found a slight drop in English-speaking support for the PFP since last July while its support among Afrikaans speakers had almost doubled to 4,8 percent.

The NRP was at its lowest ebb yet with support among only 3,2 percent of the electorate.

Nkomo rally without incident

From MICHAEL HARTNACK

HARARE. — One of the largest rallies to be addressed by the opposition Zapu leader Mr Joshua Nkomo since Zimbabwe's independence five years ago passed off without major incident in Bulawayo yesterday.

Only a week after thousands of armed troops and police staged a massive swoop for pro-Zapule dissidents in the Matabeleland capital, 50 000 Zapu supporters turned up to hear Mr Nkomo denounce the rule of the Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe.

In an exceptionally outspoken speech, Mr

party supporters to that perpetrated in Hitler's Germany.

He said the general election planned for mid-year had been reduced to a fraud in advance by obstacles placed in the path of legitimate campaigning by parties other than Mr Mugabe's ruling Zanu (PF).

Mr Nkomo accused his former partner in the Patriotic Front alliance, which fought to overthrow the governments of Mr Ian Smith and Bishop Abel Muzorewa, of giving Zimbabwe "independence without freedom" which was meaningless.

On Saturday Mr Nkomo appeared in public with

first time since his release from detention by Mr Smith in 1974, joining the UANC leader at the funeral of opposition party members allegedly killed by Zanu (PF) supporters.

Mr Nkomo claimed at the funeral that they were among nearly 400 people either murdered or abducted in Matabeleland this year.

Mr Nkomo also challenged government claims last week that he and his party were implicated in the murder in July 1982 of six white tourists, whose bodies were last week confirmed to have been found in the Insuza area 100km north of Bula-



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Kb 1 111 3185 (11A)

Songs as Sactu looks back

By MONTSHIWA MOROKE
A CROWD of 3 000 sang and danced for six hours as they celebrated the 30th anniversary of the South African Council of Trade Unions (Sactu) in Tembisa, near Kempton Park, yesterday.

Various trade union organisations, the United Democratic Front, student organisations, civic associations and other organisations attended the meeting. The colourful ceremony, held at Nepo Cinema, was punctuated with speeches and the shouting of "an injury to one is an injury to all" and "Amandla ngawethu" (power is ours). Speakers included Mr

James Mndaweni, president of the Council of Unions of South Africa (Cusa), Mrs Elizabeth Erasmus, of the Western Cape Sactu Anniversary Committee, Ms Amanda Kwadi of the Federation of South African Women (Fedsaw) and Mr Samson Ndou, president of the General and Allied Workers Union (Gawu).

The speakers paid tribute to pioneers of the trade union movement in the country, among them Mr Clement Kadalie, Dr Yusuf Dadoo, Mr Moses Kotane and Mr J B Marks. They also paid their respects to Mr Lawrence Ndganga and Dr Neil Ag-

gett, who both died in detention.

Speaking on behalf of 25 000 workers, Mr Mndaweni said workers needed to stand together so that during the "present crisis" they would be able to provide a coherent voice.

"We gather to commemorate an important day for the labour movement that was shaped by our fathers and mothers in the mid-1950s.

"We gather to salute the leaders of Sactu — to recall their struggle... yes, even their failures. To learn from their struggle", Mr Mndaweni said.

Mercury 11/3/85 11A

'Influence of Inkatha' keeps pupils in check

Mercury Reporter

THE influence of Inkatha in Natal/KwaZulu schools was largely responsible for the region being unaffected by the school boycotts which swept other parts of the country in 1984.

This was disclosed in an interview with a group of 'typical' senior black pupils in a Natal high school.

The interview was conducted by Prof Lawrence Schlemmer, head of the Centre for Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal, and researcher Monica Bot, and is reported in a forthcoming Indicator SA Quarterly Report.

The report reveals that dissatisfaction with African education and social conditions, which were a major factor in the educational unrest, were as present in Natal as in other parts of the country.

Tension

But the important ingredient of mobilisation and organisation, seen in official circles as 'agitation', was in Natal counteracted by the pervasive presence of another well-mobilised force, Inkatha, an organisation which has always opposed boycotts as futile and injurious to the African community.

In Natal/KwaZulu a different balance of political forces appeared to exist which held pupil activities of the type seen in the Transvaal and East-

ern Cape in check.

Because of the tension between opposing political groups, especially the UDF and Inkatha, the group of pupils interviewed opted to remain neutral in spite of approaches from both sides.

The report makes it clear that the group interviewed were part of a wide spectrum of opinion and did not represent all pupils' viewpoints.

Ambitious

The group had a low opinion of activists who wanted to mobilise and 'use students' objected to teachers trying to 'influence pupils politically, and emphasised keeping politics strictly from other fields such as religion and history.

Boycotts and violence were rejected and the pupils felt there was little to be gained by taking part in them. The group was ambitious and felt strongly that education should come first.

The authors said this was a category of moderate, pragmatic students which could 'probably survive in the more evenly balanced political arena of Natal/KwaZulu but which is argued or coerced into submission in other parts of the country'.

The pupils were, nevertheless, acutely aware of the 'structured disabilities of African pupils' and sympathised with pupils in other parts of the country.

AKG 13/3/85

Ring procedure row so Boesak decision delayed

Staff Reporter

THE RING van SA Gestig failed to reach a decision on Dr Allan Boesak's ministry because members argued about who had the right to attend the meeting, according to a Ring official.

Chairman Dr J C Adonis said the issue of Dr Boesak's admitted relationship with former SA Council of Churches worker Miss Di Scott "did not even come under discussion".

Instead, the 20 members of the Ring — regional authority of the Ned Geref Sendingkerk under which Dr Boesak's Bellville South congregation falls — spent the time arguing about who had the right to attend the meeting.

Some members challenged the rights of others to be present and no agreement could be reached, with the result that the Ring could not even be constituted, Dr Adonis said.

RUMOURS

The apparent deadlock has fuelled rumours of deep divisions within the Sendingkerk over the action it should take regarding the controversial clergyman.

The extraordinary meeting of the ring on Monday night was called on the recommen-

dation of a three-man Ring-appointed commission, which last month examined a letter from Dr Boesak in which he acknowledged his relationship with Miss Scott.

The Ring-commission suspended Dr Boesak from his clerical duties and his function as chaplain of the University of the Western Cape, pending the Ring's decision.

The Ring will meet again next Monday night.

THE PRESS

Asked whether the same members of the Ring — two members represent each of 10 congregations — would be present, Dr Adonis said he could not comment as the meeting had decided what could be said to the Press and what not.

It is understood, however, that advice on church procedure, particularly what qualifies attendance at meetings of the Ring, is to be sought in an attempt to break the apparent deadlock.

The SA Council of Churches, of which Dr Boesak is a member of the executive committee, has said it will not make a decision on the issue of his relationship until his own church has decided — a factor believed to be contributing to the pressure on the Ring.

20M 13/3/85 (11A)

Mystery call to disrupt meeting

By ANTON HARBER
Political Reporter

A MYSTERY rightwing pamphlet calling on white residents to gather outside a Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) meeting in Mayfair, Johannesburg, tonight and "show them that we want them out of Mayfair" has been distributed in the area.

In an attempt to prevent the disruption of their meeting, the TIC decided late yesterday to move it to another venue in nearby Fordsburg.

The main speaker at the meeting, called to protest against the treason trial of 16 UDF leaders, is expected to be Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed

Churches.

On Monday night a bilingual pamphlet purporting to come from "Concerned Residents of Mayfair" was distributed in both the "white" and "Indian" sections of the suburb.

It said the Mayfair Recreational Hall was increasingly being used as a gathering place for blacks, Indians and coloureds "for the express purpose of holding political meetings, agitating and promoting riots and disturbances in our area.

"We, the concerned people of Mayfair, are sick and tired of being the political springboard of those using Mayfair for their political gains and turning our suburb into another Cross-

roads or Soweto where stone-throwing and the burning down of schools is the order of the day," it said.

It called on residents to come to the hall and voice their grievances outside.

The TIC issued a statement last night saying it would not be intimidated, but would move the meeting to another venue to protect people from "rightwing thugs".

The TIC did not believe the pamphlet was the work of anyone in Mayfair, but was part of "a systematic campaign to stifle extra-parliamentary opposition".

The meeting will now take place at the Planet Cinema in Fordsburg at 8pm.

Church Ring unable to decide on Boesak

Call Times 12/5/6

(118)
Staff Reporter

A MEETING of the Ring van SA Gestig of the Ned Geref Sendingkerk could last night not reach a decision on the future of Dr Allan Boesak and another meeting will be held on March 18.

The Ring chairman, Dr J C Adonis, confirmed late last night that a meeting had taken place, but said he was not permitted to comment on it. He could only say that there would be another meeting on March 18.

Earlier reports that the meeting had not been convened because

several delegates had had their bona fides challenged could not be confirmed.

Dr Boesak, leader of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and vice-chairman of the Sendingkerk executive, has been suspended from his clerical duties pending the Ring's decision.

He has also been temporarily suspended as chaplain of the University of the Western Cape.

He has admitted having a relationship with a South African Council of Churches youth worker, Ms Di Scott.

ANC to stay banned until it is 'no threat to SA stability'

Parliamentary Staff

THE African National Congress would not be unbanned until it rejected violence and until it provided evidence that it was not a threat to the internal stability of South Africa, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, told the House of Assembly.

Replying to a private member's motion proposed by Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP Houghton), calling for an end to detention without trial, and for banning orders on individuals and organisations to be lifted, Mr le Grange said it was clear that the ANC's standpoint "was far from that".

South Africa was as committed to justice and freedom as any other country, and the security laws about which Mrs Suzman complained had been passed by Parliament.

Listing the number of incidents of sabotage since 1980, Mr le Grange said he could not understand how "in this period"

PFP members could call for a "liberalisation" of security legislation.

The police also had evidence that a Transvaal couple — the Jouberts — "coldbloodedly" murdered earlier this week, were killed by "ANC terrorists".

AK 47 cartridges were found near the scene of the crime, and three black men were believed to have driven the Jouberts' bakkie to Bophuthatswana.

At several stages during the debate there were angry exchanges across the floor between Mr le Grange and Mrs Suzman.

When Mrs Suzman said that stringent security laws, such as those operative in South Africa, did not apply in Northern Ireland where political violence was widespread, Mr le Grange replied: "Go to Northern Ireland then and be happy there. We'll give you an exit permit if you want it."

Towards the end of his speech, Mr le Grange caused a

storm of anger in the PFP benches when he said Mrs Suzman's motion was deliberately intended to be of assistance to "some of your friends".

Mrs Suzman challenged him to say what he meant by the statement, and when he failed to do so, accused him of being "a coward" and "having no guts".

Mr Brian Bamford, PFP Whip, said across the floor: "You haven't got the guts to be specific."

Earlier, Mr le Grange said hundreds of people had been killed or injured in unrest, which was created by the organisations which security laws were designed to act against.

PFP members, supporting Mrs Suzman's motion, said it was clear that people in South Africa had increasingly less respect for the law, as a result of harsh security laws.

Mr Peter Gastrow (PFP Durban Central) said urban riots showed that people had "less and less respect for the

law, the police and the Government".

Referring to a court case in Durban involving several UDF leaders, which had been raised by the Nat MP for Krugersdorp, Mr L Wessels, Mr Gastrow asked how the NP could justify the situation where State officials had decided they should be refused bail.

Members on the Government benches said chaos would ensue if the Government were to scrap security laws.

Mr Wessels said the security laws were necessary to protect the processes of democracy and reform.

"These laws are necessary to allow the important political reforms to go forward," he said.

The Conservative Party nominated member, Mr L Theunissen, who proposed an amendment to the motion, said Mrs Suzman should realise when she was beaten.

The CP motion asked that the security laws be strongly and responsibly applied.

Eight ARGUS
UDF 15/3/85

members refused ^{11A} bail ~~11A~~

Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — A bail application for eight United Democratic Front members facing an allegation of treason was refused in the Regional Court, Durban, today.

The eight appeared before Mr T.L. Blunden. Their cases have been joined to eight others who appeared previously on an allegation of treason.

They entered a crowded courtroom to a storm of clapping, cheers, and shouts of "amandla". Many of the spectators were wearing knitted scarves and berets in yellow, green and black, which are the colours of the banned African National Congress.

PRESIDENT

The eight were the president of the UDF, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, 66, the Rev Frank Chikane, 34, Mr Cassim Saloojee, 49, Professor Ismail Mohammed, 54, and four members of the African Amalgamated Workers' Union, Mr Sisa Njikaleni, 29, Mr Sam Kikine, 36, Mr Isaac Ngcobo, 36, and the national chairman, Mr Thozimile Gqweta.

At a previous hearing an application was made for the eight to be granted bail.

Giving his decision on the application today, Mr Blunden said warrants for the arrest of the eight had been put before court.

Mr Blunden said there was no substance to the contention that the warrants under which the people were arrested did not sufficiently specify the charges. The fact that the warrants of arrest did not fully set out the charges the accused were to face did not make them invalid.

IRRELEVANT

Even if the warrants were invalid this was irrelevant because the accused were now before court.

Mr Blunden said certificates from the Attorney-General in terms of the Internal Security Act were before the court. In terms of the Internal Security Act, these certificates prohibited a court from granting bail.

In the circumstances the court could not grant bail.

After Mr Blunden had given his ruling, Mr I Mohamed began a further application.

(Proceeding.)

Two ministers attend Cradock action meeting

29/4/85 P. D. Gerber
11A

CRADOCK — The MP for Cradock and Deputy Minister for Health and Welfare, Dr George Morrison, and the Deputy Minister of Co-operation, Development and Training, Mr Sam de Beer, attended a meeting convened here by the Cradock Action Committee to discuss the situation in Lingelihle.

In an interview after the meeting, the chairman of the action committee Mr Philip Gerber, said the committee represented the whole community and its purpose was to help establish an orderly and peaceful community which lived harmoniously with its neighbours.

He expressed regret that the Cradora (Cradock Residents Association) committee had decided not to attend the meeting, especially since they had requested it and because they claimed to be the representatives of the residents of Lingelihle.

He said the committee suspected it had not been a unanimous decision by Cradora not to attend the meeting.

"We have fulfilled our undertaking to meet and to make available the hand of good neighbourliness and should Cradora change its mind the hand of friendship will still be available," Mr Gerber said.

A similar committee was formed last year and interested people were invited to serve on it, which they did, but pressure was exerted on them to withdraw, he said.

The purpose of that committee was to determine the grievances and problems facing Lingelihle residents and to attempt to solve these in co-operation with them.

Mr Gerber said that for a peaceful community there must be peace, law and order and good education.

It was appreciated that the parents of the children had unanimously decided to send their children back to school.

Mr Gerber said there had to be structures to identify and satisfy the needs of the community. In order to meet these demands the committee considered it essential to have an autonomous municipality chosen by all the residents in Lingelihle to represent them.

Such an opportunity had been available, but the municipality had ceased to operate in November last year and the town council resigned in January.

Without such a council, it was impossible to create order out of disorder.

"Our aim is to assist in recreating such a structure," he said.

Several recommendations were made to the minister to improve the quality of life in Lingelihle and Mr Gerber said the committee was confident that positive action would result from these recommendations. — DDC.

... PRESS.

(11A) Star 14/3/85

Swazis hold 2 ANC suspects

MBABANE — Swazi police are holding two alleged members of the African National Congress (ANC) for questioning after arms were found in a house in a Mbabane suburb at the weekend. Police spokesman Mr Solly Mkhonta said an AK 47 assault rifle with two magazines and an automatic pistol with 77 rounds of ammunition were found when police surrounded the house in Thembelihle. — The Star's Foreign News Service.

UN: BOTHA

Warning of more action

258 11A 307

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

CME Times
14/3/85

SOUTH AFRICA should not underestimate the possible consequences of the United Nations Security Council's unanimous condemnation of South Africa for the recent killings in Crossroads and the arrest of United Democratic Front (UDF) leaders, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, warned yesterday.

Significantly, the resolution, which "strongly condemns" repressive actions by the South African Government against its political opponents and squatters, was supported by Pretoria's traditional allies in the UN, the United States and Great Britain.

In the debate preceding the vote, the permanent representatives of both the US and Britain were sharply critical of Pretoria's actions and policies, and called for the urgent implementation of fundamental reforms in South Africa.

Apartheid call

The Official Opposition in the House of Assembly yesterday echoed this call by urging the government to immediately spell out a specific programme of action to dismantle apartheid, "which is not marketable

internally or to the international community."

Reacting to the Security Council's unanimous condemnation of his government's actions, Mr Botha — who was South Africa's Ambassador to the UN before becoming Foreign Minister — said the council's new direction should not be underestimated.

"Just as in the case of the disinvestment campaign being waged against South Africa in the US and elsewhere, we must not underestimate the possible consequences of the direction taken by the Security Council."

He said all South Africans would be hit equally hard, and the country's economically struggling neighbours in particular, if the campaign succeeded.

"The progress and stability of the whole of

Southern Africa is being threatened."

Unless everyone on the subcontinent fought this threat collectively, all would pay a "heavy price", he said.

"It is disappointing that Britain, the US and other Western states have allowed themselves to be pressurized further and further to a point where it will be more difficult to oppose the real goal of the militant majority in the UN, which is deliberately promoting violence and revolution in South Africa," he said.

'Political lunacy'

However, Dr Alex Boraine, the chairman of the PFP caucus and a party spokesman on foreign affairs, last night said the fact that the US and Britain had voted to condemn South Africa "highlights the political lunacy of regular government action which totally contradicts its avowed commitment to reform."

Since the reformist speech by President P W Botha at the opening of Parliament in January, South Africa had experienced the bloody "disaster" at Crossroads, the arrest of prominent black leaders linked with the UDF, and the "unwarranted" pre-dawn swoop on university students, he said.

"What this vote says is that we cannot even maintain our traditional friends unless there are substantial reformist actions to back up the government's statement of intentions.

"It will do no good to sit back, wring our hands and complain. What the government will have to do, and do immediately,

is come up with a detailed timetable which will see the end of apartheid," he said.

During the Security Council debate, the US representative, Mr Warren Clark, expressed his government's "abhorrence" of apartheid and said the impending trial of UDF leaders "detracts from the government's own stated commitment to seek a dialogue with black leaders."

The British permanent representative to the UN, Sir John Thomson, noted that the death, injury and violence at Crossroads had "provoked uniform condemnation" and expressed the hope that "we shall forthwith see an end to violence and repression, and the urgent initiation of a genuine dialogue within South Africa."

Both representatives, however, acknowledged that significant reforms had taken place in South Africa.

Apart from condemning South Africa for the killings at Crossroads and the UDF arrests, the resolution also called for the unconditional release of all political prisoners in South Africa.

● The UDF described the UN resolution as "timely and encouraging" in a statement issued by its national publicity secretary, Mr "Terror" Lekota, yesterday.

The "only hope for peace" in South Africa was the "insistence on the right of the people to publicly protest against apartheid."

Mr Lekota said: "One does not negotiate with prisoners. The State President must release our leaders as a precondition for any form of a negotiated and/or peaceful settlement."

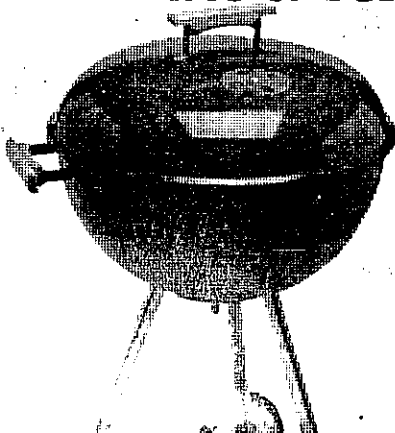
● UK explains UN vote, page 2

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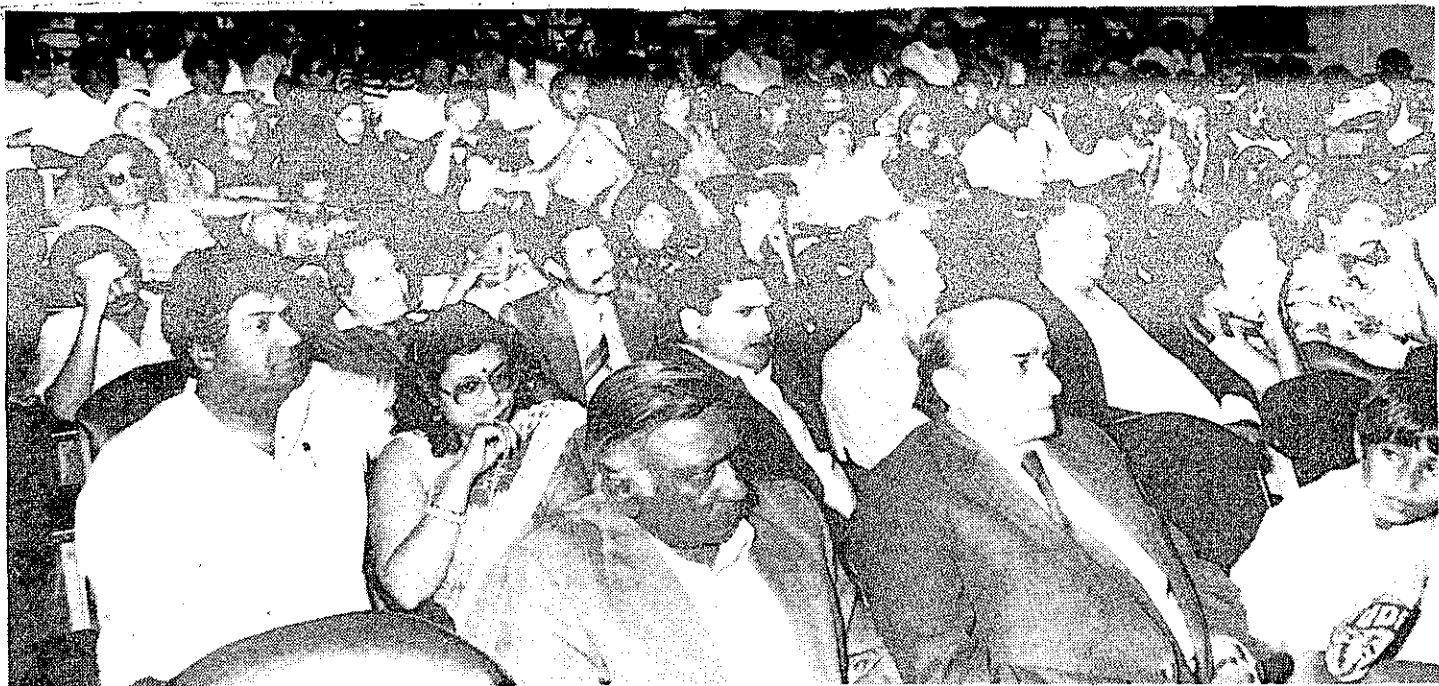
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Transvaal Indian Council supporters packed a Fordsburg cinema last night to protest the detention of their leaders.

Govt is 'criminalising' political offences — TIC

11A
Jan
14/3/85

By Gavin Engelbrecht

There was a growing tendency by the Government to "criminalise" political offences to make charges more acceptable to the outside world, said Mr NG Patel, executive member of the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC), last night.

Addressing a TIC protest meeting calling for the release of 16 Natal treason trialists, Mr Patel said the first seven trialists had been released under section 28 and then charged with treason in an attempt to show there was a distinction between the judiciary and the executive.

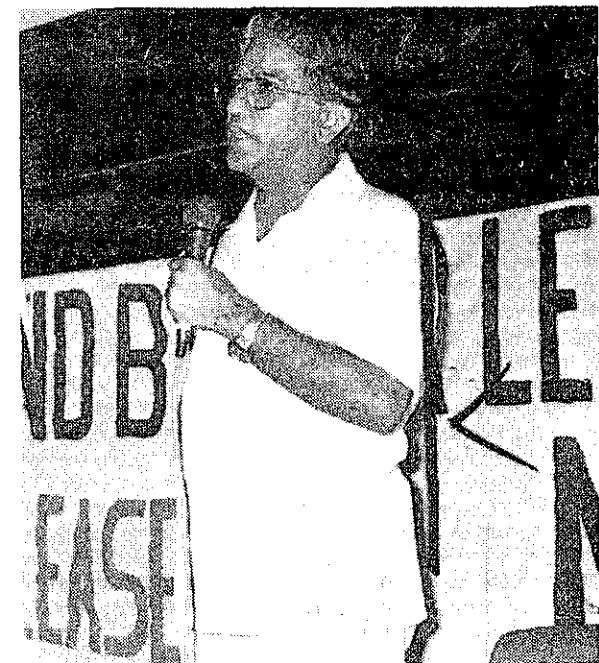
He told a packed Fordsburg cinema that the move was for propaganda purposes as the Government was trying to show their offences were not a transgression of security laws, but rather a criminal offence.

He said the delay in bringing them to trial, refusing them bail and detaining them for such a long period showed there was no difference between detaining them under section 28 and detention as awaiting-trial prisoners.

Mr Patel added: "This leads us to believe that the laws and its provisions are being used for nothing more than political purposes."

The vice-president of both the Transvaal UDF and TIC, Dr Ram Salojee, slammed as untrue recent statements by the Government and South Africa's UN representative.

Dr Salojee said the statements included claims that the trialists were charged within 48 hours as required by the law, that the judiciary was independent and that it was free of Government interference.



The vice president of the TIC, Dr Ram Salojee, addresses the protest meeting.

'Don't heed protest call'

IIA ~~IIA~~ E. Post 4/3/85

THE Mayors of Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage have appealed to black workers to consider whether a positive response to the call for a boycott and stayaway this weekend would advance their cause.

A joint statement by the Mayor of Port Elizabeth, Mr I L Krige, and the Mayor of Uitenhage, Mr J Kitching, said: "Regarding the plans which have been made for black workers to take part in a boycott of Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage businesses from March 16 to 18, we would urge the workers concerned to consider whether a positive response to them by the

organisers of the plans will advance their cause.

"We are aware of the intimidatory and other measures which may be taken against those who disregard the stayaway appeal made to them. But the other side of the coin, of course, is that an organised boycott often causes more hardships than it alleviates and also does not make the task of sympathetic employers, who are trying to keep employment levels as high as possible in difficult times, any easier.

"It is vital for all sectors of the community to keep level heads in these turbulent times and everyone concerned should

at all costs avoid indulging in inflammatory action which will have results no one can foresee."

● The Divisional Commissioner of Police in the Eastern Cape, Brigadier C A Swart, has appealed to people not to heed the stayaway call.

He also gave the assurance that police would intensify patrols in black townships and take strong action against anyone who tried to stop workers from going to work.

The stayaway is part of three-day "black weekend", starting on Saturday, during which people would boycott city shops, not use buses and stay away from work.

Brig Swart said in his statement that police were aware that "a certain organisation" was trying to influence black workers to take part in the action.

"The police are also aware that the workers are not in favour of the stayaway and that the organisation concerned is trying to reach its goals through threats," Brig Swart said.

● The Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco) today claimed that they were convinced of a 100% support for the "black weekend" despite opposition by some trade unions and other organisations.

110 (6) 2/07
PE union calls for 3-day boycott

The Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation has called for a three-day strike and boycott of shops and buses from today in protest against recent price rises. The organisation is linked to the United Democratic Front and is supported by the Motor Assembly and Component Workers' Union and the General Workers' Union of South Africa. A spokesman for MACWUSA and GWUSA said they supported the boycott call because of high price rises and unemployment which affected their members. Police said they would step up patrols in black townships in case of trouble. — Reuter.

D.D.

11A (10) 301

UDF members held in Ciskei

ARGUS 29/3/85
DURBAN. — Members of the UDF are among a number of people detained by Ciskei police in Mdantsane near East London early today, a UDF spokesman has confirmed.

Others held are members of the South African Allied Workers' Union (Saawu) and other organisations.

Mrs Nocawa Makonco of a firm of attorneys in Port Elizabeth said her firm was representing 17 of those held.

They are Mr Hintsu Siwisa, Mr Kingston Gswala, Mr Office Mnyobe, Mr Joe Jongolo, Mrs Priscilla Maxongo, Mr Zimela Msoki, Mr Mzwandile Mampunye, Mr Phillip Silotile, Mr Vusile Mathi, Mr Humphrey Masegwala, Mr Alfred Metele, Mr Scelo Ndevu, Mr Tozi Mehlo, a man only known as Dangala, Mrs Gertie Botha and Dr Nonkosi Ngumbela, all from Mdantsane.

Also allegedly held is the Rev B Stofile from Alice. — Argus Correspondent and Sapa.

11A *Staw*
16/3/87
**Government has
ANC youth taped**

A member of the Alexandra Youth Congress was convicted yesterday of promoting the banned African National Congress by making tape recordings of banned publications and playing them to create sympathy for the organisation.

Edward Masuku Ngobeni of Fourth Avenue, Alexandra, was convicted under the Internal Security Act by a Johannesburg regional magistrate — he had been in custody since August.

SA union activists still held in Harare

Own Correspondent

HARARE — Two former South African trade union activists were still in detention in Harare yesterday more than a week after being arrested on undisclosed charges.

Mr David Hemson and Mr D'arcy du Toit were picked up by Zimbabwean security agents in the Midlands town of Kwe Kwe along with five Zimbabwean union officials.

No official statement on the arrests has been made. Mr Hemson and Mr du Toit are understood to have conducted a series of classes on union awareness for Zimbabwean union leaders that criticised government labour policies for falling short of the ruling Zanu Party's Marxist-socialist goals.

Diplomatic sources in Harare said both men were expected to be deported to Britain soon, possibly at the weekend.

Mr Hemson is a British passport holder and Mr du Toit is understood to have right of entry to Britain.

Information

No information on the identities or the fate of the trade unionists detained with them was available.

Detention without trial is allowed in Zimbabwe under the provisions of emergency powers regulations.

Mr Hemson was a member of the African National Congress of South Africa and was banned in the early He was involved in leftist-orientated union activity in South Africa.

He later went to Britain where he was ousted from the ANC along with two other whites after criticising the organisation for not being leftist enough.

Both he and Mr du Toit are members of the Marxist Workers Tendency, a group associated with Britain's anti-apartheid movement.

Both men came to Zimbabwe about three years ago and were working as teachers. Mr Hemson in Harare and Mr du Toit in the Midlands.

CAPE TIMES 12/3/85
Khan re-elected
as WCTA chief

11A Staff Reporter

THE former chairman of the Western Cape Traders Association (WCTA), Mr Dawood Khan, was re-elected chairman of the organization at its annual general meeting last week.

Mr Khan was expelled from the organization last year after allegations that, while he was chairman, he had left the country at a crucial period in the WCTA's fight to prevent agricultural land in Ottery being rezoned as a white business centre.

At the time of his suspension and expulsion, it was also alleged that Mr Khan had written a letter without his executive committee's approval

which had delayed the sequestration of a former City businessman who had subsequently left the country.

In his acceptance address, Mr Khan thanked the WCTA for having the confidence to re-elect him to his former post.

He called for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC.

Mr Khan appealed for the government to hold a round-table conference with "the real leaders" of the country to "avoid bloodshed".

He said he would continue to address the social, economic and political issues of the day to "ensure a fair share for all".

natural causes in that year and (b) what were the main causes of these (i) natural and (ii) unnatural deaths in respect of each race group;

(2) whether post-mortems were performed on such prisoners; if so, how many post-mortems were performed in 1984?

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

(1) Yes.

(1) Whether any deaths were reported in South African prisons in 1984; if so, (a) how many prisoners in each race group died of (i) natural and (ii) unnatural causes in this respect.

349. Dr M S BARNARD asked the Minister of Justice:

terms of the policy of greater managerial independence, departments do not fully report to the Commission for Administration in this respect.

Prisons: deaths
Howard Q. 601.681
 18/3/85

1 January 1984-31 December 1984	
	(1) (a) (i) and (ii)
Blacks	146
Coloureds	36
Whites	14
Asians	0

(1) (b) (i) Natural Causes

Blacks - Heart diseases, tuberculosis and pneumonia

Coloureds - Heart diseases and tuberculosis

Whites - Mainly heart diseases

(1) (b) (ii) Unnatural Causes

Blacks - Assault by fellow prisoners and suicide

Coloureds - Assault by fellow prisoners and suicide

Whites - Suicide

Asians - None

(2) Yes, in terms of the Inquests Act, 1959, (Act No 58 of 1959), 71 post-mortems were performed in respect of unnatural deaths.

As far as natural deaths are concerned, post-mortems are also conducted when, in the opinion of the medical practitioner involved, any uncertainty exists as to the exact cause of death. However, these figures are unfortunately not readily available.

1 January 1984-31 December 1984		
	Natural	Unnatural
Blacks	146	47
Coloureds	36	20
Whites	14	4
Asians	0	0

356. Dr A L BORLAINE asked the Minister of Manpower:

(1) How many (a) industrial council agreements, (b) conciliation board agreements, (c) arbitration awards, (d) Wage Board determinations and (e) orders in terms of the Black Labour Relations Regulation Act were enforced as at the latest specified date for which figures are available;

(2) how many (a) Whites, (b) Coloureds, (c) Asians and (d) Blacks were affected by each of the above five categories of wage regulating machinery as at this date?

The MINISTER OF MANPOWER:

(1) (a) 187.

(b) Nil (Conciliation board agreements are usually not published).

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

On 31 January 1985 the figures were as follows:

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

(1) Yes. It has been found that the extended service rendered is satisfactory.

(2) No. The present service is adequate and non-compulsory. The private sector may, if they so wish, transport traffic to and from the station.

Maintenance of railway line

323. Mr W V RAW asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:

(a) How many track kilometres of railway line are maintained (i) mechanically and (ii) manually and (b) what was the maintenance cost per track kilometre in each of these categories as at the latest specified date for which figures are available?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

(1) (a) How many posts were there in the Public Service as at the latest specified date for which figures are available and (b) how many such posts were vacant;

(2) how many (a) appointments to and (b) resignations from the Public Service were there in 1984?

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

(1) (a) (i) Administrative, clerical, professional, technical, general A and general B divisions: 106 425 posts.

(ii) Non-classified division, educated and services (Prisons only): 125 266 posts.

(b) (i) In respect of (a)(i) above: 15 857.

(ii) Particular in respect of (a)(ii) above are handled departmentally. Particulars are not readily available.

(2) Details not readily available as, in

have been or will be taken in this regard?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

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(2) Details not readily available as, in

Services are being maintained mechanically with integrated maintenance of certain parts of the track. Separate statistics are therefore not readily available.

(b) The fully integrated use of both methods makes meaningful division of costs impossible. However, during the financial year 1983-84 approximately R10 300,00 per kilometre was spent on track maintenance.

Crimes against security of State: prisoners
Howard Q. 601.679
 18/3/85

332. Mrs H SUZMAN asked the Minister of Justice:

How many prisoners who are (a) 18 years and older and (b) under the age of 18 years are serving sentences for (i) crimes against the security of the State and (ii) other crimes?

ANC Camp
(N.A.) Star
18/3/85
mutiny is
worrying
leadership

The Star's Foreign
News Service

PARIS — African National Congress leaders are reported to be deeply concerned over serious trouble in a Tanzanian-run training camp where 300 ANC guerillas mutinied last month.

The well-informed weekly *Indian Ocean Newsletter* says the Tanzanian Army has been occupying the training camp for Umkhonto We Sizwe, the armed wing of the ANC, for the past two weeks in the wake of clashes within the camp.

It adds: "The fighting apparently pitted those who joined the ANC in the wave of recruiting which followed the Soweto massacre of 1976, and new arrivals who have been expelled from Mozambique, against the camp leadership.

"Three hundred guerillas are said to be undergoing training in Tanzania, including 180 thrown out of Mozambique in the wake of the Nkomati Accords."

The Paris-based newsletter noted that while violent clashes were not infrequent in ANC camps in Tanzania, Angola and elsewhere, "these latest incidents reflect the impatience of young recruits for what they see as political hesitation by their leaders".

The newsletter said the ANC guerillas blamed their leaders for having made no plans in the event of their expulsion by Maputo, while the ANC group currently in Swaziland was "in semi-revolt against the central command".

The newsletter added that ANC leaders were "having trouble working out a strategy".

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have been or will be taken in this regard?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

- (1) Yes. It has been found that the extended service rendered is satisfactory.
- (2) No. The present service is adequate and non-compulsory. The private sector may, if they so wish, transport traffic to and from the station.

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The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

- (a) (i) and (ii) Railway lines of Transport Services are being maintained mechanically with integrated manual maintenance of certain parts of the track. Separate statistics are therefore not readily available.
- (b) The fully integrated use of both methods makes meaningful division of costs impossible. However, during the financial year 1983-84 approximately R10 300,00 per kilometre was spent on track maintenance.

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The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

On 31 January 1985 the figures were as follows:

- (a) (i) 335
- (ii) 90 503 with regard to all ages. As figures at the 244 prisons vary daily, statistics per age group are not centrally kept and can only be obtained by a country-wide survey.
- (b) (i) One (1)

(ii) Included in the total given in (a)(ii).

Handwritten: 18/3/85
Public Service: posts

339. Mr H H SCHWARZ asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

- (1) (a) How many posts were there in the Public Service as at the latest specified date for which figures are available and (b) how many such posts were vacant;
- (2) how many (a) appointments to and (b) resignations from the Public Service were there in 1984?

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

- (1) (a) (i) Administrative, clerical, professional, technical, general A and general B divisions: 106 425 posts.
- (ii) Non-classified division, educated and services (Prisons only): 125 266 posts.
- (b) (i) In respect of (a)(i) above: 15 857.
- (ii) Particular in respect of (a)(ii) above are handled departmentally. Particulars are not readily available.

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- (1) Whether any deaths were reported in South African prisons in 1984; if so, (a) how many prisoners in each race group died of (i) natural and (ii) un-

(1) (a) (i) and (ii)

1 January 1984-31 December 1984

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- Blacks - Heart diseases, tuberculosis and pneumonia
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(1) (b) (ii) Unnatural Causes

- Blacks - Assault by fellow prisoners and suicide
Coloureds - Assault by fellow prisoners and suicide
Whites - Suicide
Asians - None

- (2) Yes, in terms of the Inquests Act, 1959, (Act No 58 of 1959), 71 post-mortems were performed in respect of unnatural deaths.

As far as natural deaths are concerned, post-mortems are also conducted when, in the opinion of the medical practitioner involved, any uncertainty exists as to the exact cause of death. However, these figures are unfortunately not readily available.

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- (2) whether post-mortems were performed on such prisoners; if so, how many post-mortems were performed in 1984?

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

- (1) Yes.

Handwritten: 18/3/85
Black Labour Relations Regulation Act

356. Dr A L BORAINÉ asked the Minister of Manpower:

- (1) How many (a) industrial council agreements, (b) conciliation board agreements, (c) arbitration awards, (d) Wage Board determinations and (e) orders in terms of the Black Labour Relations Regulation Act were enforced as at the latest specified date for which figures are available;
- (2) how many (a) Whites, (b) Coloureds, (c) Asians and (d) Blacks were affected by each of the above five categories of wage regulating machinery as at this date?

The MINISTER OF MANPOWER:

- (1) (a) 187.
- (b) Nil (Conciliation board agreements are usually not published).

18/3/85

A break with tradition . . .

LABOUR WEEK by PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

THE decision by six emerging union groups not to back the call to observe a "black weekend" in Port Elizabeth starting Saturday marks a very different standpoint from that adopted over last November's stayaway.

The call came from the United Democratic Front (UDF)-affiliated PE Black Civic Organisation (Pebco), and was supported by at least two unions — the Motor Assembly and Components Workers' Union (Macwusa) and the General Workers' Union of SA (Gwusa).

Included in the call was a three-day stayaway, from Saturday to today, and a boycott of shops and buses.

But the bulk of union groups in the city — Fosatu, Cusa, the General Workers' Union, the African Food and Canning Workers' Union, the Domestic Workers' Association and the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union (Ccawusa) — rejected it.

Their grounds were that before any such decision could be taken they would have to have a mandate from workers and they had not had enough time to consult their members.

This position indicates a sharp divide between the factory-based organisations which regard themselves as "worker-controlled" and

those which are led by political activists.

This relationship is an issue which has been widely debated within Fosatu and other union groupings since November when they parted from previous policy and joined forces with community groups to back the stayaway.

The only givens are that emerging unions are unlikely to adopt a non-political line, but that they will not embark on actions which their members are not in control of.

The more political unions have gained impetus of late from activities surrounding the 30th anniversary of the formation of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu).

Sactu has never been officially banned, but as an ally of the African National Congress, has been viewed with hostility by the Government.

A well-attended meeting in Tembisa, called by a number of local unions, last week was effectively Sactu's first internal rally for decades, and shows an attempt by the organisation to move from its exile-based position.

Sactu's re-emergence on the local scene could be of major significance, as it could inject a much

more political flavour into trade unionism in South Africa.

By Fiona Macleod and Joe Openshaw

Colonel denies knowledge of any campaign

WJA
11A
2/8

The deputy chief of the Johannesburg Security Police, Colonel Chris Scholtz, denied before a Media Council hearing today that he had any knowledge of a smear campaign allegedly orchestrated against the Rev Allan Boesak by the Security Police.

He was testifying in Johannesburg at the hearing of a complaint against *The Star* which has been brought by the South African Police.

Colonel Scholtz was the first witness. At issue are two reports published on January 11 and 25, in which *The Star* accused the Security Police of "dirty tricks" and claimed that the police were behind an anonymous campaign to reveal evidence of an extra-marital affair between Dr Boesak and divorcee Miss Diane Scott.

Dr Boesak is a Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sendingkerk minister, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, executive member of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) and patron of the United Democratic Front. Miss Scott is a former SACC official.

The reports in *The Star* alleged that the Security Branch had dropped an anonymous pamphlet and tape recording containing details of the affair at the office of the newspaper and that Colonel Scholtz and Lieutenant-Colonel Petrus du Toit had confirmed to two senior reporters that their unit had disseminated this information.

DISCIPLINARY

The South African Police have asked the council to take strong disciplinary steps against *The Star* as they say that the allegations in the reports were totally false and aimed at discrediting the Security Police.

The committee hearing the complaint consists of the chairman, retired judge Mr Justice L de V van Winsen; editor of the *Sunday Times* Mr Tertius Myburgh; managing director of the *Western Transvaal Record* Mrs I Krause; editor of *Die Vaderland* Mr Harald Pakendorf; attorney Mr Gert Hugo; attorney Mr David Bloomberg; and Unisa law lecturer, Professor S A Strauss.

Mr S J Maritz, legal rep-

prepared to see him, I didn't see any problems.

Did you find it strange that Mr Cohen wanted to introduce Miss Steyn to you? — Not at all.

Was this the only time in your experience that this had happened? — This was the first time in my experience. I am not aware of this happening before.

You did not find it unusual that a senior reporter would waste his time introducing another reporter to you? — I did not find it strange.

It appears from the affidavits before the council that the Johannesburg Security Police were monitoring certain activities of Dr Boesak.

Mr Maritz: Were you aware of this?

Colonel Scholtz: I was aware, though I was not personally involved in the monitoring. The monitoring arose from Dr Boesak's relationship to the UDF as patron, his attachment to the SACC and his attitude to various other activities.

Were you aware of an intimate relationship between Dr Boesak and Miss Scott? — I had heard this in the corridors, but apart from conversations in the corridors, I did not know anything more.

MEETING

Can you sketch what happened during the meeting with Mr Cohen and Miss Steyn? — Mr Cohen introduced Miss Steyn and added that she was the reporter who would publish the Boesak affair.

What was your reaction? — I asked what the report was about. Miss Steyn said she had information which they had received at the newspaper office which indicated an extra-marital relationship between Dr Boesak and Miss Scott.

When you said you knew nothing about the incident,

what was their reaction? — They seemed surprised, they looked at each other but did not say anything.

Colonel Scholtz said it was at this stage that Colonel du Toit entered his office and took part in the discussion which was conducted in Afrikaans.

"Miss Steyn mentioned that a tape recording had been lying in the news editor's tray for about a week and that he had not listened to it. She said she had listened to the tape and concluded that it was about a relationship between two people in a bedroom," said Colonel Scholtz.

Mr Maritz: What else happened?

Colonel Scholtz: I asked her how she got hold of the recording and she said it had been dropped off at the newspaper office.

Did she mention any other investigations she was doing? — She mentioned that as a result of the reaction, she had investigated the affair and had found it was true.

PAMPHLET

Was there mention of an anonymous pamphlet? — Miss Steyn mentioned the pamphlet which she said had been dropped at the newspaper and which contained allegations about the affair. I did not ask her what was in the pamphlet.

Were you at this stage aware of the existence of the tape and pamphlet? — It was the first time that I had heard of either.

What did Colonel du Toit say? — He said the reporters had better have their facts right because such a report could result in a civil action. Miss Steyn replied that her facts were correct and that she was not scared.

Did Mr Cohen or Miss Steyn say anything in relation to the origin or distribution of the recording and

pamphlet? — Mr Cohen said that they could only have come from an organisation such as the Security Branch, which had the ability and skills necessary to make them. I just laughed at this and I think Colonel du Toit reacted in much the same way.

Why did you just laugh? — Because there were most certainly many institutions which had the ability and the sophisticated means of making such a tape.

Did you consider Mr Cohen's allegations to be serious? — In the light of my previous denials of any knowledge of the recording and pamphlet, I did not pay much attention to his proposal.

Did either reporter expand on this proposal? — No, there was no further expansion.

What was their reaction when you laughed? — They looked at each other but didn't say anything.

Did either ask what the reaction of the Security Police would be if it was alleged that they were involved? — Mr Cohen asked this and I replied that I would deny that the Security Police were ever involved in reports of the Boesak affair.

Was there any reaction to this by the reporters? — There was not much reaction. I told Mr Cohen that he should contact Colonel G M Erasmus, the chief of the Johannesburg Security Branch, who was on leave at the time, and see what his reaction would be to such allegations. Mr Cohen said he would phone Colonel Erasmus.

Was there anything more of interest in the conversation? — Mr Cohen asked me not to give this information to any other newspaper. I looked aside to Colonel du Toit and said we would pay the newspa-

pers for certain information. Colonel du Toit laughed and the reporters heard me.

Cross-examined by Mr SA Cilliers, appearing for *The Star*, Colonel Scholtz said he was very upset after reading the report on January 11 because it inferred the Security Police were involved in the so-called smear campaign against Dr Boesak and Miss Scott.

He said the meeting with Mr Cohen and Miss Steyn — ostensibly arranged for Mr Cohen to introduce Miss Steyn to the Security Police — lasted between 15 and 20 minutes.

Colonel Scholtz said he had never come across a request like that before.

"But Mike Cohen was known to us and I never questioned the request with Colonel du Toit because it would have been the sort of thing Mr Cohen would have asked of the police."

Colonel Scholtz considered it a goodwill visit but it became very clear after the meeting started that Mr Cohen and Miss Steyn had another reason altogether in mind for the interview and wanted to speak about Dr Boesak.

STATEMENT

Mr Cilliers: But in a statement you made you said it was only after the second story appeared on the 25th that you realised the two had another purpose in view and said they had defrauded you?

Colonel Scholtz: From my statement this will appear to be so. But at the actual meeting I realised they had another purpose.

If it was a case that you discovered at the meeting they had another purpose in mind — the Boesak/Scott relationship — why didn't you tell them to go to the Police Public Relations Department? — They never explained what they wanted from us and I could not find out what their purpose was. I thought the conversation was all part of a goodwill visit.

Mr S A Cilliers SC, assisted by Mr W Trengove, are representing *The Star*. Mr S J Maritz is assisting Brigadier J V van der Merwe for the Police.

(Proceeding.)

that the police were behind an anonymous campaign to reveal evidence of an extra-marital affair between Dr Boesak and divorcee Miss Diane Scott.

Dr Boesak is a Nederlandse Gereformeerde Sendingskerk minister, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, executive member of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) and patron of the United Democratic Front. Miss Scott is a former SACC official.

The reports in *The Star* alleged that the Security Branch had dropped an anonymous pamphlet and tape recording containing details of the affair at the office of the newspaper and that Colonel Scholtz and Lieutenant-Colonel Petrus du Toit had confirmed to two senior reporters that their unit had disseminated this information.

DISCIPLINARY

The South African Police have asked the council to take strong disciplinary steps against *The Star* as they say that the allegations in the reports were totally false and aimed at discrediting the Security Police.

The committee hearing the complaint consists of the chairman, retired judge Mr Justice L de V van Winzen; editor of the *Sunday Times* Mr Tertius Myburgh; managing director of the *Western Transvaal Record* Mrs I Krause; editor of *Die Vaderland* Mr Harald Pakendorf; attorney Mr Gert Hugo; attorney Mr David Bloomberg; and Unisa law lecturer, Professor SA Strauss.

Mr S J Maritz, legal representative for the Security Police, told the hearing today that the implications of the allegations were far-reaching and that the solution to the complaint was of "utmost importance for the maintenance of order in this country".

He questioned Colonel Scholtz about a meeting he had in his office with *The Star* crime reporters Mr Mike Cohen and Miss Chris Steyn on January 9 — two days before the first report of the Boesak affair was published.

Colonel Scholtz said Mr Cohen had requested the meeting because he wanted to introduce Miss Steyn to him.

Mr Maritz: What was your reaction to Mr Cohen's request for a meet-

ing? — I am not aware of this happening before.

You did not find it unusual that a senior reporter would waste his time introducing another reporter to you? — I did not find it strange.

It appears from the affidavits before the council that the Johannesburg Security Police were monitoring certain activities of Dr Boesak.

Mr Maritz: Were you aware of this?

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(Proceeding.)

Police complain of Boesak reports

By Fiona Macleod

Allegations that the Security Police were involved in disseminating evidence of the extramarital affair between the Rev Allan Boesak and Miss Dianne Scott are true or may reasonably be true, the Editor of *The Star*, Mr Harvey Tyson, submits before a Media Council hearing today. The South African Police have laid a complaint against *The Star*.

The Security Police say the allegation is "a blatant lie".

The police have asked the council to take strong disciplinary steps against *The Star* following the publication in January of two articles containing allegations that the Security Branch exposed the affair as part of a "dirty tricks" plan to discredit Dr Boesak.

The court... of the John Ver... Security Branch de... the allegations as totally false. They say the reports are part of a "sustained and unsavoury campaign" aimed at discrediting the Security Police.

The Star agrees that it conducted a campaign after its investigations. It was clearly stated at the time that the newspaper was urging the public and Parliament to call for a judicial commission into the accountability and control of Security Police operations and detentions.

DIVORCEE

In the reports, published on January 11 and 25, *The Star* accused the Security Police of "dirty tricks", and claimed the police were behind an anonymous campaign to reveal evidence of an affair between NG Sendingkerk minister Dr Boesak and divorcee Miss Scott. Dr Boesak is president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, executive member of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) and patron of the UDF. Miss Scott is a former SACC official.

The reports alleged that the

Police complain of Boesak affair reports

● From Page 1.

Security Branch had dropped an anonymous pamphlet and tape recording containing details of the affair at the offices of the newspaper, and that two Security Police colonels had confirmed to two senior reporters that their unit was involved in disseminating this information.

"*The Star* independently established that Dr Boesak and Miss Scott had had an affair, that a campaign to discredit Dr Boesak had been carried on by dissemination of the pamphlet and recording and that the Security Police had carried out surveillance of the couple and in the course thereof learnt of the affair," Mr Tyson submits.

"It was apparent that the tape could have been made and the information in the pamphlet obtained only by means of sophisticated surveillance. This justified the inference that the tape

was made and the information gathered by the Security Police.

"When senior personnel of the Security Police admitted they were involved in the dissemination of the pamphlet and recording, *The Star* decided it should publicise both Dr Boesak's affair with Miss Scott and the Security Police's involvement," he submits.

COLONELS

Crime reporters Miss Chris Steyn and Mr Mike Cohen confirm in papers that Colonel Chris Scholtz, second in charge of the Johannesburg Security Branch, and Lieutenant-Colonel Petrus du Toit, chief of the Security Branch crime investigation division, admitted disseminating the information during an interview on January 9.

"Mr Cohen asked the colonels to tell us straight out whether the Security Police had been responsible for dropping

the tape recording and pamphlet on *The Star*. First Colonel Scholtz said that they had done it, and then Colonel du Toit said that of course they had done it.

"It was further mentioned that the person in charge of the whole operation — the name mentioned was, I think, Captain van Niekerk — was not in. Colonel Scholtz said that Colonel G M Erasmus (chief of the Johannesburg Security Police) knew of everything," relates Miss Steyn.

Both Colonel Scholtz and Colonel du Toit deny such admissions, saying the reporters gave a twisted and false account of the interview in their reports.

During what he considered to be a courtesy visit by the reporters, submits Colonel Scholtz, Mr Cohen proposed that only the Security Police possessed the ability, skills and opportunity to

make such a tape recording.

"I laughed at this proposition, but neither I nor Colonel du Toit pertinently answered it.

"When Mr Cohen asked if I would deny that the Security Police were involved, I replied that it would definitely be most strongly denied. I also proposed that he phone Colonel Erasmus to see what his reaction would be.

"The allegation that I or Colonel du Toit admitted feeding newspapers with anonymous smear pamphlets and tape recordings is a blatant lie."

DISCOVERED

The colonels add that the affair was common knowledge among Security Branch members. It had been discovered during routine investigations.

"The activities of the Security Branch are aimed at preserving internal security, as envisaged in section 5 of the Police Act ...

Security Branch members are not used to exercise dirty tricks and if any member was guilty of such action, it would be unlawful," comments the chief of the Security Police, Major-General Stanley Harold Schutte.

The witnesses who provided the above statements are now being cross-examined by legal counsel before the Media Council.

Stuttafords

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7) CAPC-Tinns 18/3/85

Man dies in E Cape rioting

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — One person died, several were injured and a number of buildings were damaged by fire as unrest flared throughout the Eastern Cape at the weekend.

And the secretary of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organization (Pebco), Mr Siphon Hashe, claimed that the Black Weekend stayaway from work and boycott of city businesses which started on Saturday had been a 100 percent success.

According to Sapa, he thanked the people for the calm maintained in Port Elizabeth townships and appealed to them to stay at home and not to provoke the large police unit in the townships. He said there was no intimidation at the townships' exits.

City streets were virtually deserted on Saturday. Most city businesses were affected despite opposition from many black trade unions.

Pebco called the Black Weekend to protest against government policies and "economic bungling", but exempted workers engaged in essential services.

According to the SAP duty liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, Lieutenant Cecil Vermaak, a group of people in Somerset East's African township stoned a house on Saturday afternoon. Police fired shots and one man was killed and another wounded.

Two policemen and two rioters were injured in two separate incidents in the township.

Burnt body of policeman found

The lieutenant said several buildings were gutted in the town, causing damage of about R400 000.

● In Cradock, the partly burnt body of a Ciskei security policeman, Lieutenant Wanda Nzame, 40, was found in Ilinghele township on Saturday.

His wrists were cut and the top half of his body was burnt. Police believed petrol was used to burn him.

Lieutenant Vermaak said the SAP had opened a murder docket. There had been no arrests.

Other incidents of unrest in the Eastern Cape on Saturday were reported in Cookhouse and the Port Elizabeth townships of Kwazakele and Motherwell.

● Twelve committee members of the Organ of Peace, an organization established last year to restore peace in Fort Beaufort's townships, were detained in a police swoop early on Saturday, according to the chairman's wife, Mrs G Fani.

Lieutenant Vermaak confirmed only that Mr L M Fani had been arrested on Saturday morning.

According to Mrs Fani, the others arrested are 72-year-old Mr M Zetu, Mr D Williams, his daughter, Miss N Williams, Mrs R Mriba, Miss N Danster, Mr V Mbovane, Miss L Tafu, Mrs N Rhode, Mr M Boti, Miss G Siyona and a Mr Bovane, all of Tinus township.

● Youth killed in Somerset East, report page 2

CAPE TIMES 15/3/85

UDF changes leaders in Western Cape area

Staff Reporter *11A*

THE leadership of the Western Cape region of the United Democratic Front has changed substantially after elections at its annual general meeting held at the weekend.

Mr Z Malindi, a prominent figure in the Western Cape Civic Association, has been elected president in the place of veteran trade unionist and community leader Mr Oscar Mpetha.

Mr Christmas Tinto remains as one of two vice-presidents but Mr Joseph Marks has been replaced by Mr Wilfred Rhodes.

There are now three

regional secretaries instead of the previous two. Mr Trevor Manuel retains one post with Ms Miranda Qwanyashe and Mr Ebrahim Rassool filling the others.

Ms Cheryl Carolus was not available for re-election.

Ms Zoliswa Kota replaces Mr Jonathan de Vries as publicity secretary and Mr Joe Adam replaces Mr Andrew Boraine as treasurer.

Mr Goolam Abubaker is the new fund-raiser. Other executive members are the Rev Syd Lockett, Ms Mildred Lesia, Mr Mountain Qumbela and Mr Graeme Bloch.

Media Council hears police complaint about Boesak reports

Colonel: My allegation went too far

By Fiona Macleod and Joe Openshaw

Colonel Chris Scholtz conceded at a Media Council hearing yesterday that he had gone too far in alleging that reporters of *The Star* had been underhand in asking the Security Police to get information about his role in the "Boesak affair".

He conceded the point during cross-examination for more than half a day.

He was the first witness in the hearing in Johannesburg of a complaint brought by the South African Police against *The Star* after two reports published on January 11 and 25.

In these, *The Star* accused the Security Police of "dirty tricks" and of being behind a campaign to reveal evidence of an extra-marital affair between Dr Martin Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, and Miss Di Scott, formerly of the SA Council of Churches.

ANONYMOUS PAMPHLET

The reports alleged that the Security Branch had dropped an anonymous pamphlet and tape recording of details of the affair at the newspaper office and that Colonel Scholtz and Lieutenant-Colonel Petrus Cilliers had confirmed to two senior reporters that the unit had disseminated this information.

The South African Police have asked the Media Council to take strong disciplinary measures against *The Star* as they say the allegations were totally false and aimed at discrediting the Security Police.

Colonel Scholtz admitted under cross-examination by Mr S A Cilliers SC, appearing for *The Star*, that there had been a number of deviations from normal police procedure during an interview with *The Star* reporters Mr Mike Cohen and Miss Chris Steyn

on January 9, when the affair and the alleged police campaign against Dr Boesak had been discussed.

Though the normal procedure was for questions to be put to the police PRO, this had not been done.

Colonel Scholtz explained that he considered the interview a courtesy visit to introduce Miss Steyn, but it soon became evident that this was not what the reporters had in mind. The mood of the interview was one of levity and there had been room for misunderstanding.

Mr Cilliers asked the colonel if he had told Miss Steyn this was not the first time the Security Police had made tape recordings and pamphlets and dropped them on the newspapers.

Colonel Scholtz: That is not true.

Mr Cilliers: One can only conclude that you did not ask to hear the tape because you knew what it contained?

Colonel Scholtz: Miss Steyn said the tape had been found lying on her news editor's desk. I concluded that it was still on the table.

She says the tape was in her handbag during the interview. — I did not know this.

Why didn't you ask to see the pamphlet? — I did not think she had it with her.

Colonel Scholtz said he did nothing about the allegations linking Security Branch "spies" to a smear campaign against Dr Boesak, published in a report in *The Star* two days after the interview.

On the same day, the Commissioner of Police and the chief police public relations officer denied the allegations without referring to the Johannesburg Security Branch, Colonel Scholtz said.

Mr S J Maritz, legal representative for the police, asked Colonel Scholtz if he had had any interest in the relationship between Dr Boesak and Miss Scott. The colonel replied that he did not.

He said, however, that the Security Branch had been monitoring Dr Boesak and his activities in relationship to the UDF and the SA Council of Churches.

Mr Maritz: Was the relationship of Dr Boesak and Miss Scott a matter of public interest?

Colonel Scholtz: Yes, because of Dr Boesak's standing in the community.

Did you feel that it should be publicised as a matter of public importance? — Not at all.

Would you have had any objection if *The Star* had made the relationship world news? — No, not at all.

Colonel du Toit, third in command of the Johannesburg Security Branch and chief of the security crime investigation division, said he was present during the latter part of the interview with Mr Cohen and Miss Steyn on January 9.

COULD NOT REMEMBER

Colonel du Toit said he could not remember how he had heard that the tape had been dropped on certain newspapers, including *The Star*. One of the Security Branch members had heard from his sources that the tape was doing the rounds among the media.

Did you know anything about the pamphlet? — No.

The council consists of the chairman, retired judge Mr L de V van Winsen; editor of the *Sunday Times*, Mr Tertius Myburgh; managing director of the *Western Transvaal Record*, Mrs I Krause; editor of *Die Vaderland*, Mr Harald Pakendorf; attorney Mr Gert Hugo; attorney Mr David Bloomberg; and Unisa law lecturer Professor S A Strauss.

Mr S A Cilliers SC, assisted by Mr W Trengove, is representing *The Star*. Mr Maritz is assisting Brigadier J V van der Merwe for the police.

The hearing continues.

of source of
19/3/85
Boesak story

By Fiona Macleod and Joe Openshaw

An admission by a senior Security Police officer that he may have heard about the love relationship between Dr Allan Boesak and Miss Di Scott at a formal staff conference rather than coincidentally in the corridors at John Vorster Square was made today at a Media Council hearing.

Lieutenant-Colonel Petrus du Toit, third-in-command at the Security Branch in Johannesburg, said he was uncertain whether he had heard in conversation in the corridors or at a routine staff conference that Dr Boesak was being monitored and had a love relationship with Miss Scott.

Colonel du Toit was giving evidence at the hearing of a complaint brought by the South African Police against *The Star* arising out of two reports published on January 11 and 25, in which the newspaper accused the Security Police of "dirty tricks" and claimed the police were behind an anonymous campaign to reveal evidence of the extramarital affair between Dr Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, and Miss Scott of the South African Council of Churches.

TAPE RECORDING

The reports in *The Star* alleged that the Security Branch had dropped at the office of the newspaper a tape recording containing details of the affair and that Colonel Chris Scholtz and Colonel du Toit had confirmed to two senior reporters that their unit had disseminated this information.

The South African Police had asked the council to take strong disciplinary measures against *The Star* and say the allegations in the reports were totally false and aimed at discrediting the Security Police.

Under cross-examination by Mr S A Cilliers SC, for *The Star*, Colonel du Toit said that if there had been a decision by the Security Police to disseminate information about Dr Boesak's affair to the media it would have had to come from headquarters.

He said he would personally be opposed to information about Dr Boesak's love relationship, which may have been produced in moni

● To Page 3, Col 1

of source of
Boesak story

19/3/85 From Page 1

toring operations and had no relevance to security matters, being made available to the media.

In evidence in chief Colonel du Toit said it was absolutely untrue that he and Colonel Scholtz, the second-in-command of the Johannesburg Special Branch Section, had admitted to *The Star* crime reporter, Mr Mike Cohen, that they were responsible for dropping tapes of Dr Boesak's love relationship at newspapers, including *The Star*.

He said there had been no instructions either at his level or from higher up intentionally to reveal evidence of Dr Boesak's extramarital relationship.

Mr J V Maritz, for the South African Police: Was there any action on the part of the Special Branch to make Dr Boesak's private affairs known worldwide?

Colonel du Toit: No such instruction was received and this is not the function of the Security Branch.

Mr Maritz: Could your chief, Colonel Erasmus, have decided to do everything in his power to conduct a smear campaign against Dr Boesak without your knowledge? — No.

UNFOUNDED

Colonel du Toit said he had first seen the pamphlets about Dr Boesak's affair last week while preparing for the hearing.

The suggestion by Mr Cohen that he and Colonel Scholtz backed the idea that *The Star* publish the story of Dr Boesak's affair was unfounded.

"It is also not true at all that Colonel Scholtz gave Mr Cohen the assurance we had intentionally dropped tapes and pamphlets with the media," he said.

Cross-examined by Mr Cilliers, Colonel du Toit said he was not sure how much of the Boesak affair he had in fact heard. It was of no interest to him nor of importance to the Security Branch.

The decision to monitor Dr Boesak would have been taken to provide information on him as a potential criminal as a result of activities in connection with the UDF.

He agreed with Mr Cilliers he would have had to have been kept abreast of anything important produced as a result of the Boesak monitoring.

He thought it might have been an underestimation of Colonel Scholtz to have described him in a statement as a mere "pen-pusher" concerned only with administration and not with field operations.

The hearing continues.

● See earlier report on Page 8.

Pebco homes fire-bombed

Post Reporters

THE homes of two executive members of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation, which organised the stayaway at the weekend, were petrol-bombed in the early hours today.

Damaged estimated at about R10 000 was caused to the Kwazakele home of Mr Siphon Hashe, secretary of Pebco.

About R500 worth of damaged was caused to the house where executive member, Mr Ernest Malagas, lives with his parents in Red Location.

The bedroom, the lounge and the dining room of Mr Hashe's house was damaged.

Two wardrobes, a bed and the ceiling of the bedroom were completely destroyed. The incident

occurred at 1.45am today.

Mr Hashe said three petrol-bombs were hurled into the lounge and others into the bedroom and dining room at the back.

He said just before the explosions he had heard a vehicle stop outside the house.

The incident at the home of Mr Malagas occurred at 2.30am. A bakkie was also seen.

● Four men died in unrest in Port Elizabeth's townships last night in a flare-up of stone-throwing and arson attempts.

The police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, Lieutenant-Colonel Gerrie van Rooyen, said police were busy removing motor car wrecks blocking Johnson Road, Kwazakele, yesterday afternoon.

He said a group of about 30 people stoned the police who opened fire. A 19-year-old youth was slightly injured.

Police patrolling past the Ben Senuka Lower Brighton last night were stoned by a group of people gathered on the school grounds and in the street, he said.

Police fired a shotgun and saw two of the group fall to the ground. A car raced up to where they had fallen, pulled one of them into the car and sped away.

Police picked up the other man who was left lying in the street. He was certified dead on arrival at the hospital.

In Kwazakele last night police came across a group of 500 people

armed with assegais and axes. The mob threw stones at the police who opened fire.

Two men aged 25 were killed and two men, aged 24 and 28, were slightly injured.

In Motherwell last night a police vehicle was stoned. Police fired a shotgun. A 19-year-old man was killed.

A petrol bomb was hurled through the bedroom window of a house occupied by a policeman in Kwazakele yesterday. The policeman extinguished the fire.

A mob which had gathered outside threw stones at the house.

A three-year-old who burnt to death in a shack fire in Soweto yesterday has been identified as Pumzile Mali.

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11A

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S. Post

Tom. boycott of black PE schools

PORT ELIZABETH. — There was a total boycott yesterday of black schools here and in a number of Eastern Cape towns.

Port Elizabeth schools were empty as a result of the stayaway called by the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organization (Pebco), the chief of liaison services for the Department of Education and Training, Mr Job Schoeman, said from Pretoria.

There was also a total boycott of classes in Cradock, Somerset East, Bedford and Fort Beaufort yesterday.

The situation at the Cape Education College in Fort Beaufort yesterday was unchanged from Friday — only 212 students attended lectures. Mr Schoeman said the situation at the college was quiet.

In Grahamstown, the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) released a pamphlet on Sunday urging pupils at three schools to go to school without their

books yesterday and to refuse to attend classes to further the "students' struggle" and the demand for "democratic students representative councils". The boycott at the schools was total.

In East London, attendance at all schools was normal except at one school, where no pupils attended classes.

Mr Schoeman said pupils had arrived at the school yesterday morning and demanded an SRC on their conditions. They refused to speak to the school inspector and said they would write a letter to the minister.

● Thousands of Port Elizabeth township residents stayed at home yesterday, the third and last day of a stayaway called by Pebco.

Employers interviewed said black worker absenteeism ranged from "negligible" to 100 percent. The "black weekend" was called by Pebco in protest against the increased price of petrol and other consumer goods. — Sapa

News 19/3/85

(11A) [initials]

12 die — E Cape counts cost of 'black weekend'

PORT ELIZABETH. — The city is today counting the cost of a three-day 'black weekend' stayaway from work which turned into a series of bloody confrontations between police and mobs of youths.

Argus Bureau

The death toll has risen to 12, seven of whom were killed by police gunfire and five by rioters.

The weekend claimed the youngest victim of the unrest when three-year-old Pumszile Mali was burnt to death when the shack in which she lived was set alight by a mob.

Police liaison officer Colonel Gerrie van Rooyen said the homes of 11 policemen, 14 other homes, a beerhall, three Development Board buildings and four shops had been destroyed by rioters.

Partly paralysed

A Red Cross aircraft left Cape Town for Port Elizabeth today to fetch an 11-year-old Cradock boy who was partly paralysed by a birdshot pellet in his neck.

K Gili, of Lingilihle township, was admitted to Livingstone Hospital in Port Elizabeth. Doctors decided to transfer him to Conradie Hospital after finding the left side of his body paralysed.

He was wounded in Lingilihle yesterday when police fired into a crowd of about 800 after vehicles were stoned.

● Another Red Cross flight will leave Cape Town for Durban today to fetch Dr A K Seedat of Newcastle, who was seriously injured in a road accident six weeks ago. He will be admitted to Conradie Hospital.

● The city centre resembled a ghost town yesterday as a work stayaway called by the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco) to protest against price increases paralysed transport and forced blacks to stay at home.

In the townships all businesses were closed and schools empty. Gangs of youths roamed the streets to enforce the stayaway and became involved in bloody clashes with police in the process.

Pik, Tutu in lively TV debate

Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, told millions of American television viewers early today that change could come to South Africa faster if the international community stopped trying to apply pressure.

South Africa still had time to change, because there was goodwill in the country. But the outside world should stay out of it and not try to prescribe to South Africans, black and white, what they should do, he said.

Mr Botha made his remarks on the ABC News television show Nightline against a background of a lively debate in the United States over economic sanctions as a method of forcing the South African Government to moderate and ultimately abandon apartheid.

First of five shows

During the show, the first of five editions of Nightline to be broadcast from South Africa and screened at midnight on the US east coast this week, Mr Botha had a number of spirited exchanges with Bishop Desmond Tutu.

The two South Africans were in separate studios (Mr Botha in Cape Town and Bishop Tutu in Johannesburg) while the show's host, American TV personality Ted Koppel, spoke to them from a third SABC studio.

One of the sharpest of their exchanges came after Bishop Tutu referred to apartheid as "something as evil as nazism and communism."

Mr Botha retorted with apparent irritation: "To



Mr Pik Botha

Bishop Tutu

● The SABC has bought the Nightline programmes. The first will be broadcast on News Focus tonight after the 8 pm news.

compare us with the nazis is an insult to the more than 100 000 South Africans of Jewish origin who came to this country, and to our forefathers who fought with the allied powers against nazi Germany."

Earlier, they disagreed vigorously after Mr Botha said that the SA Government was ready to negotiate with any black leader who disavowed violence as a means to effect political change.

Boycott SA goods, say UK union men

Argus Foreign Service
LONDON. — Trade union leaders representing millions of British workers have appealed to their members to show their condemnation of apartheid by boycotting all South African products.

The general secretaries of 16 national trade unions yesterday signed a declaration urging British workers to avoid buying South African goods.

Their declaration is part of the Anti-Apartheid Movement's "month of boycott action" — a major campaign to increase the pressure on South Africa by stepping up the boycott action in Britain.

Signatories included Mr Gavin Laird of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, which has more than a million members, and Mr David Basnett,

one of the trade union movement's "elder statesmen" and general secretary of the General, Municipal, Boilermakers and Allied Trades Union, which has about 850 000 members.

Other signatories include Mr Bill Wheatley and Mr Sid Tierney, general secretary and president respectively, of the shopworkers' union whose members handle much of the South African produce on sale in British shops.

Bishop Tutu said that the lie had been given to that argument by the arrest of United Democratic Front leaders.

The Foreign Minister and the bishop spent several minutes arguing over the process of law involved in the arrests and the right of the UDF arrested to apply for bail and the right of the Attorney-General to oppose bail applications.

Mr Koppel brought this exchange to an end with the comment that he and his American colleagues had been astonished by the liveliness of political debate in South Africa and the robustness of the country's Press.

Asked how change could be brought about, Bishop Tutu said the churches were calling for the Government to sit down at a national convention and negotiate not with imposed black leaders but authentic leaders like Nelson Mandela.

Mr Botha said that the Government's view had been made clear — it was prepared to talk with any leader who rejected violence.

Three ways for change

Bishop Tutu said there three ways change could come to South Africa.

The first was with the vote but that was out of the question since blacks did not have the vote. The second way was violence, and most blacks eschewed this course.

"The third possibility is the one I have been calling for: the assistance of the international community to bring pressure on the SA Government to urge it to go the conference table before it is too late," he said.

Namibia: Crocker for SA

Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — Dr Chester Crocker, Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, will visit South Africa this week for talks on SWA/Namibia.

He is currently talking with Angolan government representatives.

Both meetings are thought to be about two outstanding issues that the United States is trying to resolve:

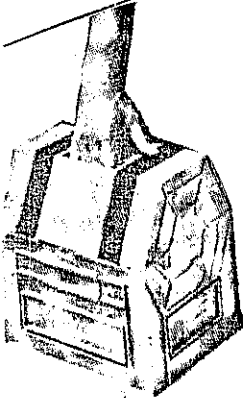
- Narrowing the gap between South Africa and Angola on the Cuban troop withdrawal issue; and
- Removing obstacles to the completion of the withdrawal of SA troops from Angola.



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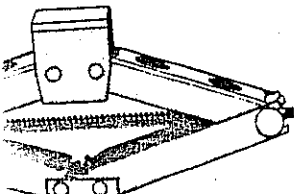
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No official ANC welcome for Goldberg

London Bureau

LONDON. — Mr Denis Goldberg, released from Pretoria Central Prison last month after serving 21 years of a life sentence, arrives in London today.

Sources close to the African National Congress made it clear that there would be no official welcome for Mr Goldberg, who signed an undertaking to renounce violence before his release.

A former member of the South African Communist Party (SACP) and Umkhonto we Sizwe — the ANC's military wing — Mr Goldberg has expressed a desire to continue his work with the ANC and to return to South Africa "if possible".

But his decision to sign the undertaking to renounce violence has put him in conflict with the ANC and created a potential headache for the organisation.

Mr Goldberg is expected to receive an enthusiastic welcome from South African exiles who recognise his right to opt for conditional release after such a long period behind bars.

He will have talks with officials of the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) and the ANC to discuss his future role in the liberation struggle.

But ANC sources said this week there will be no official ANC platforms for Mr Goldberg and that any talks would be on an "individual basis".

The ANC appears anxious to avoid a repetition of the embarrassment incurred

over the official welcome it gave to Mr David Kitson after his release last year.

Within months Mr Kitson had been suspended from the ANC because of his association with the rebel "City Group" of the AAM.

It is understood Mr Goldberg's ANC membership will not be taken for granted and that he will be called on to explain his decision to renounce violence while the armed struggle remains a vital prong of the ANC's liberation strategy.

While many of his ANC colleagues are sympathetic about his decision to choose freedom, they are concerned about the impact of the decision on other jailed members.

They fear that Mr Goldberg's decision to renounce violence and opt for economic sanctions could provide encouragement for moderate African nationalists within the ANC to press for a new strategy of civil rights rather than an armed struggle.

There is speculation that Mr Goldberg might not renew his lapsed ANC membership and choose to return to South Africa to work within the United Democratic Front, which welcomed his release last month.

In a statement reacting to Mr Goldberg's release last month, an ANC spokesman in Lusaka made it clear that all members of the ANC were expected to uphold ANC policy which demanded the "immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners".

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PAC not ready to talk

11A

Star

The Star Bureau

19/3/85

LONDON — The exiled leader of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), Mr Nyati Pokela, yesterday said that his organisation would not talk to the South African Government until the PAC had seized power and was busy "dictating terms".

At a Press conference here Mr Pokela said that it was the PAC's campaign against influx control which led to the "Sharpeville massacre".

Mr Pokela spent 13 years in prison on Robben Island.

UDF denies rumours of a purge of left-wing leaders

Political Staff

THE major leadership shake-up in the Western Cape region of the United Democratic Front has led to rumours that it resulted from political tension in its ranks.

But spokesmen for the organisation denied the rumours today.

UDF leaders had decided to return to local organisations to strengthen them, so moving from "highpowered mobilisation activity" towards more solid organisation, UDF sources said.

The shake-up has left five prominent members of last year's executive out of the new executive elected at the organisation's regional annual meeting in Cape Town.

They are president Mr Oscar Mpetha, vice-president Mr Joe Marks, secretary Cheryl Carolus, publicity secretary Mr Jonathan de Vries and treasurer Mr Andrew Boraine.

Of the five only Mr Mpetha, a

veteran trade unionist and community organiser, stood for re-election. He was replaced as president by Mr Zoli Malindi, a prominent figure in the Western Cape Civic Association, an organisation operating in Peninsula townships.

Mr Mpetha claimed his defeat was the result of a "big battle going on against me conducted by certain individuals".

However, he said the township conflict had not spread to regional or national level.

But the four who declined nomination have strongly denied rumours that the leadership change is the result of a "purge of the left wing" — a widely circulating rumour in political circles.

"There is no question about our loyalties to the UDF. We have decided to go back to local organisations and build them up," outgoing publicity secretary, Mr Jonathan de Vries said.

Other new members of the executive are Mr Graeme Bloch, an ex-student activist, who was banned for five years, Mrs Mildred Lisea, past president of the United Womens Organisation, Mr Goolam Abubaker, Mr Mountain Qumbella, an former Robben Island prisoner and the Rev Syd Lockett, a clergyman who has been deeply involved with Cape Town's squatter communities.

Mr Joe Adam, a former Sacos official replaces Mr Boraine as treasurer and Mr Ebrahim Rasool, a former member of the Muslim Students' Association and Miranda Qwanyasahe, also a UWO member, join Mr Trevor Manuel as secretaries.

Mr Jeremy Cronin, a former political prisoner, fills the newly-created post of education and training officer.

Mr Christmas Tinto remains as one of the vice-presidents, with Mr Wifred Rhodes replacing Mr Marks.

FORMER South African political prisoner Denis Goldberg is due to leave Israel for London today to resume his political activity on behalf of the African National Congress (ANC).

Goldberg was released from prison in Pretoria last month after serving almost 22 years of a life sentence for conspiracy to overthrow the South African Government by force.

He flew directly from South Africa to Israel, where his daughter Hilary has made her home, though it was clear from the start that his ultimate destination was London.

While in Israel Goldberg has aroused bitter resentment with his attacks on Israel's links with South Africa and statements attributed to him in support of political violence.

Several newspaper columnists and Rightwing parliamentarians have given Goldberg notice that he is not a welcome guest in Israel.

The liberal weekly news magazine, Koterest Rashit, will this week make space available for Goldberg to refute statements attributed to him in an interview two weeks ago.

In the interview — which was conducted by the editor, Tom Segev — Goldberg was quoted as saying that many of the civilians killed in Palestinian terrorist attacks were not innocent.

"They support the oppression of the Palestinians or they do not go enough to prevent the oppression of the Palestinians," Goldberg was quoted as saying.

"If they really are innocent... what can be done? They happened to be in the

wrong place at the wrong time. That's the price."

Goldberg maintained that he had been misquoted. According to one of his confidantes, the conversation about political violence had been theoretical and Goldberg had refused to talk specifically about the situation in Israel.

The examples he had used had been drawn mainly from the Rhodesian civil war, he said.

Segev continues to maintain that Goldberg was not misquoted. "There is no room for misunderstanding," he said yesterday. "We spoke for about three hours at least, half an hour of which was devoted to a comparison between South African and Palestinian terror. It was very clear what he said. I do not have a bad conscience."

Segev added that he very much regretted the entire episode. "Goldberg does not deserve the sort of mess he got himself into," he said. "I very much appreciate him and his struggle in South Africa."

Members of kibbutz Ma'ayan Baruch, the northern settlement in which Goldberg has been living, have refused to comment on the controversy.

It is understood, however, that the kibbutz — which welcomed Goldberg ecstatically three weeks ago — has been embarrassed by the whole affair.

With Israeli soldiers dying in Lebanon every few

ROY ISACOWITZ in Tel Aviv

days, support of so-called terrorism is not kindly regarded in Israel.

Goldberg intends playing an active role in the struggle against the South African Government, despite the undertaking he signed before his release to desist from violent politics.

The document he signed included a statement that he would "not make myself liable for arrest".

"I will make myself available to the ANC to do what I can do," he said recently. "After 22 years in prison, I would like to live my own life... but I also live for the movement. I would like to find a decent balance."

Goldberg acknowledges the criticism of his decision to sign the undertaking as a threat to the unity of the ANC. His comrades will understand why he signed, he says... "though they will probably say that my timing was terrible".

He signed only days after the arrest of the leadership of the United Democratic Front, of which he is a patron.

The long years of imprisonment made no dent in Goldberg's commitment; he entered jail a Marxist and left jail 22 years later with the same convictions.

The good of the move-

ment still take precedence over his personal interests.

In 1979, three of Goldberg's fellow white political prisoners escaped. He did not go with them.

"I knew that if I had escaped with them, the police would have torn Johannesburg apart looking for me," he said. "I did not want to endanger the infrastructure that had been rebuilt following Rivonia."

Denis Goldberg is an anachronism; a modern-day Rip van Winkle. He has surfaced into a harsh, impatient age that is not kind to the sort of subtle complexities that he embodies.

He is at once a doctrinaire Marxist (or "scientific socialist," in his own words) and a compassionate democrat.

His wit is sharp and incisive, but his conversation is sprinkled with "prisonisms" that have a whiff of the locker room about them.

His years of imprisonment appear to have created a fracture between his intellectual and emotional capacities.

His love of and need for children is palpable, yet within minutes of being captivated by a child's smile, he is capable of dispassionately discussing vio-

lent political incidents in which children could well be killed.

After 22 years in prison, his experiences are mostly theoretical. He has never seen a child's mangled body after a bomb blast.

An avowed non-Zionist, tears flood Goldberg's eyes when he describes the warmth of his welcome on the kibbutz. He is careful, however, to distinguish between the kibbutz members who took him to their collective heart and the mass of Israelis.

He defends Israel's right to exist, but makes that existence conditional on Israel losing its Jewish character. Judaism, he says, is a religious not a national identity... yet he supports the national liberation movement of the Palestinians.

Denis Goldberg saw television for the first time the night after he arrived in Israel. He turned the television set on and saw himself.

"What a marvellous machine," he said afterwards. "It brings you into your own home."

No doubt he will soon adapt to not seeing himself whenever he turns on the television.

It will take a lot longer, however, to iron out the personal and ideological contradictions that developed over 22 years.

Goldberg in UK promises to help change SA

(11A) Star

20/3/85

The Star Bureau
LONDON — Mr Denis Goldberg has arrived in Britain for a joyful reunion with placard-waving "comrades" and again promised to help bring about change in South Africa.

He flew in from Tel Aviv yesterday and said freedom had not changed his views.

"I'm more determined than ever to help bring about change in our country.

"People get shot every day. Workers stay

at home and they get shot. How can my views change?" he asked.

Mr Goldberg was welcomed by about a dozen "political friends and comrades". Among those present were former political prisoners Mr David Kitson and Mr Ben Turok.

Mr Goldberg came through customs alone, his wife Esme following some time later because "she did not like the fuss".

He was unsure how long he would be in Brit-

ain but said he had come to the country to live with his wife. He would only know his future plans once he had "consulted with the African National Congress".

Mr Goldberg was critical of media reports which quoted him as saying the responsibility for a peaceful solution in South Africa lay with the ANC.

"The South African Government is the oppressor, not the ANC. The responsibility for violence in South Africa

is that of the South African Government.

"The responsibility for a peaceful solution in South Africa rests with the South African Government. Until the white South African Government recognises and implements full democratic rights for the black people of South Africa there can be no peace," Mr Goldberg said.

"And it is time the South African Government stopped its daily violence against the peo-

ple by the police and the armed forces and the violence built into the laws of the country."

A Rivonia trialist, Mr Goldberg was released from prison in South Africa about three weeks ago after spending 22 years in jail. On his release he flew to Israel where he spent time on a kibbutz with his wife and his daughter Hillary.

He was released after undertaking not to take part in, instigate or plan violence in South Africa.

power-sharing without bloodshed

EXTRACTS from a recent address
by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi to the
Inkatha Central Committee:

WHILE the ANC was a legal organization in this country, it held out hope and in every probability, had the South African government not banned it, the majority of us would be working as South Africans in its idiom.

But we would be doing so because we would have kept it democratic and ensured that its leadership was elected by the people and directed by them.

I have the profoundest respect for the leadership qualities of Nelson Mandela in particular and of others now incarcerated. Over the years I have fought for their release and have made representations on their behalf, and I have done so not as a political gimmick to gain me popularity in the press, but I have done so behind the scenes for their sakes and for the sake of South Africa.

I yearn for the day when politics in this country can be normalized and when black South Africa is given unfettered and free choices about who they should support and where we should be going.

Nelson Mandela is a hero and a martyr, and he will forever go down in history as such. But, as South Africa takes its rightful place in the modern world, the people of South Africa are not dependent on me, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, or Nelson Mandela, or anybody else.

The illusion that black South Africa is a leaderless nation of political orphans is dangerous to liberation.

People's will

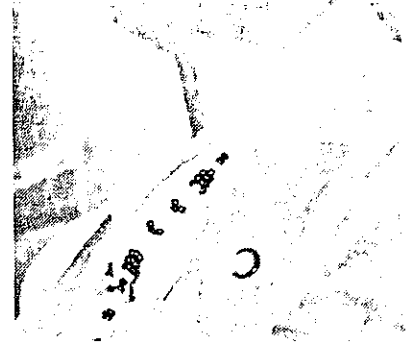
The old ANC was great because it sought support from the people and sought to root itself in the minds and hearts of the people.

I have never regarded Inkatha as anything else other than an expression of the people's will, and I have always put myself in a position which is subservient to the will of the people.

I see apartheid crumbling without the racist intentions behind Verwoerdian-type Afrikanerdom being abandoned.

Dr Verwoerd's and John Vorster's apartheid cannot work. That kind of apartheid has been rendered unworkable by black opposition, and by economic reality. There is recognition now that the Malan-type of apartheid, the Strydom-type of apartheid, the Verwoerd-type of apartheid, the Vorster-type of apartheid, cannot work — and I don't believe that the PW Botha-type of apartheid will work either.

I see apartheid crumbling, but I also see no signs whatsoever that the National Party is in any way intending to abandon the claim that South Africa's small white minority has the right to exercise total control over 87 percent of our country and all its wealth.



Chief Gatsha Buthelezi

As apartheid is crumbling around Mr P W Botha, he is desperately attempting to make blacks partners in Afrikanerdom's intention to retain total decision-making power.

Specific role

Inkatha has a specific role to play to ensure that apartheid's new format does not secure for whites total and everlasting control over the affairs of this country.

Politics is in part about doing whatever we can do to alleviate the position of the poorest of the poor. We welcome the breakdown of what whites so euphemistically call "petty apartheid". We welcome the recognition that blacks in so-called white areas are there to stay and are more than migrant labourers serving the white man's economy.

We welcome the promise of freehold title. We welcome the promise that Section 10 rights will not be lost if people move from one locality to another. We welcome black trade union developments. We welcome the relaxation of restrictions on who can trade where.

Above all we welcome the now widely recognized fact that blacks and whites are inter-dependent and that blacks in so-called white areas are not only necessary but that it is actually desirable that they are there.

Only the ideologically insane would not welcome these things with us. Politics is in part about these kinds of things, but for me these changes simply dramatize the core issue of South African politics.

This is about the sharing of power and not about the benevolent dispensation of increased privileges for blacks in apartheid society.

Avoid holocaust

When I look at the current South African situation, I see clearly that if we are to avoid a terribly destructive holocaust, and if we are to avoid a race war, black politics must participate in the process of bringing about change and must take every advantage of increased bargaining powers which are now there for our taking as hard realities pound and batter exclusive Afrikaner nationalism.

I have always recognized that the problems of this country may yet one day have to be solved after large-scale violence has taken place. I have always warned white South Africa that we are in an 11th-hour situation and that white political intransigence and a refusal to move towards the sharing of power polarizes this country and pulls the rug from beneath the feet of people like myself.

I am not blind to black anger, but neither am I blind to the demand of the angry that we avoid large-scale bloodshed; if that is at all possible.

Inkatha has a massive mandate from the people to labour for non-violent change and to further the politics of negotiation.

There are two alternate destinies staring this country in the face.

The one destiny is the destiny which will follow the ravages of violence unleashed at unmanageable levels of intensity, and spread.

The other destiny is the destiny reconstructing South Africa after the politics of non-violent democratic opposition and after the politics of negotiation have diverted this country from terrible bloodshed.

NG REJECTS EXTRA-MARITAL AFFAIR WITH EX-SACC W

Boesak reinstated

BY GAYE DAVIS, Staff Reporter

AGUS 20/3/85

117

DR Boesak has been reinstated by the regional authority of his church of having an extra-marital affair with former SA Council of Churches worker Miss Di Scott.

Today he said: "If the decision had gone against me, the goal of the State-inspired smear campaign would have been realised. But those who supported me through this ordeal realised it was a desperate attempt by the Government to get me out of circulation."

He expressed relief at the decision, but said the pain of realising the extent of fellow churchmen's hatred for him because of his political views had hurt him more than the ordeal.



Dr Allan Boesak

"I have always known of my differences with people in the church but had no idea there was so much hatred and jealousy," he said.

The issue had caused deep divisions in the NGSK on one hand, but on the other had also brought people together who previously felt "superficial differences in outlook reason enough to stand against me", he said.

The Ring van SA Gestig, after an extraordinary meeting which lasted until the early hours today reinstated the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sendingkerk clergyman after hearing his evidence.

Temporarily suspended

Dr Boesak had been temporarily suspended from acting as chaplain at the Bellville South congregation of the NGSK, assessor in the NGSK moderation and chaplain at the University of the Western Cape pending the ring's decision.

Dr Boesak said: "This Sunday I will be back in the pulpit. One of the most gratifying things to come out of the whole affair is that I now have more support than ever. I will continue to fight the Government at every level."

The ring rejected reports of an extra-marital affair after a thorough examination of "relevant information" and hearing Dr Boesak's evidence, ring secretary the Rev A J van Wyk, said on behalf of the ring today.

In his evidence, Dr Boesak denied having an extra-marital affair with Miss Scott, 30, a divorcee now living in Cape Town.

UDF meetings banned in PE

GNC 1/11/85 20/3/85 Correspondent *11A*

PORT ELIZABETH. — Meetings of the United Democratic Front and its affiliates in Port Elizabeth and surrounding areas have been banned from 6pm yesterday to 6pm tomorrow.

This was confirmed last night by the police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, Lieutenant-Colonel Gerrie van Rooyen. He said the ban had been ordered by Port Elizabeth magistrate Mr S van der Watt.

Mr Mkhuseli Jack, president of the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress, said last night a meeting planned by Peyco had to be called off when a notice was found stuck to the door of the Sisonke Hall in Zwide.

"We called this meeting to discuss the International Year of the Youth. They could have informed us in good time," he said.

King III
Lesotho

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Lesotho Government yesterday admitted that six men killed on its border by security forces were members of the outlawed Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), contradicting an earlier statement that they were rebels of the Lesotho Liberation Army.

A Lesotho Cabinet statement said: "Six persons believed to be members of the Pan-Africanist Congress were killed last week at Qacha's Nek."

On Monday the Lesotho Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Mr Desmond Sixishe, denied reports from South Africa and from South African expatriates in London that the six men were members of the PAC.

He insisted then that the six were members of the Lesotho Liberation Army, an underground movement seeking to overthrow the government of Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan, allegedly with the assistance of South Africa.

The names of the dead men would be released later, the statement added.

Botha and Tutu talked to a draw

Own Correspondent

NEW YORK. — Sarah Lee croissants, Schlitz beer, hamburgers and dishwashers saved the confrontation of the foreign minister and the bishop from becoming a slanging match.

They came near enough, but every time Mr Pik Botha and Bishop Desmond Tutu were about to jam the American airwaves with unbridled vituperation, along came a commercial break or the gentle intervention of "anchorman" Ted Koppel to return Monday night's history-making edition of "Nightline" to comparatively sedate discourse.

"Don't use that kind of trick... I'm sorry, I'm

sorry, you are misleading people... for goodness sake, when are you going to listen to the victims instead of the perpetrators?" the bishop would remonstrate, only to be countered by the Botha growl.

Resolved nothing

Less a dialogue than a pair of grossly conflicting presentations, it resolved nothing and must have befuddled most of the estimated seven million audience.

American supporters on both sides ruled it an unsatisfactory draw. Intent on the show surviving its week-long stay in South Africa, Koppel dropped the aggressive interviewing style for which he is celebrated.

Cushioning the breaks for the R130 000-a-minute commercials were slabs of statistics on the Republic.

As an introduction, viewers were told that "naked power is the bulwark of white privilege" and how "slavery has been replaced by economic servitude".

First to get into his stride, Mr Botha submitted that his government had "always been committed to change for quite a while — controlled change."

South Africa was a heterogeneous community and the government was "trying to uplift all of them," he said. Since it was ready to negotiate with any leader who abandoned violence, "Mr Mandela is indeed now jailing himself."

Bishop Tutu began to get agitated when Mr Botha maintained that "you are not arrested in South Africa for opposing the government" and backed this up by asserting that the attorney-general was so divorced from politics that the government only learned of the arrests of the UDF leaders after the event.

Pressure

Making his familiar appeal for "pressure," the bishop complained how "when we choose a non-violent course they take umbrage... what else have we got?"

It was "not true that blacks cannot vote in South Africa," Mr Botha said. Then, noting the state of the rest of Africa, he protested: "Don't make us out to be the only devils in the world."

The series continued last night with another minister in the hot seat — Mr Gerrit Viljoen against the president of the Black Sash, Mrs Sheena Duncan.

Vandals paint
ANC slogans

20/3/87
Vandals who broke into the Sharpeville Health Clinic today — the 25th anniversary of mass unrest and death in the township — painted African National Congress slogans on the building and set fire to documents, police said.

On March 20 1960 mass rioting broke out near Sharpeville after the Pan-Africanist Congress called on black people to throw away their pass books and surrender to the police. At least 60 people died during the few minutes of shooting that followed — Sapa.

Police knew of Boesak tape, says reporter

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The security police seemed surprised that The Star was going to publish anything about the Boesak affair, and said the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, would be "very happy" if it published the story, the Media Council heard yesterday.

The council is hearing a police complaint against The Star newspaper and two Star reporters, Miss Chris Steyn and Mr Mike Cohen, who are accused of falsely reporting that Colonel C S Scholtz and Colonel P L Du Toit had admitted active security police involvement in the Boesak-Scott smear campaign.

Miss Steyn said the security police had admitted dropping the Boesak-Scott tape and pamphlet at the Star.

She described how she investigated the allegations on the smear pamphlet by telephoning four hotels in Johannesburg and the Tiger Bay resort in Zimbabwe to verify that Dr Allan Boesak and Miss Melani Scott had been there.

She said the manager of the Johannesburger Hotel, Mr Tancred Mellis, had told her that Dr Boesak had booked into the hotel on the night of July 19, 1984. He also told her that the night before Dr Boesak booked in, the security police had come to the hotel and had given the hotel security manager a photograph of Dr Boesak and asked him to notify them on his arrival.

The photograph, she said, appeared to be the same as the photograph of Dr Boesak on the pamphlet — making her believe there could be a connection between the security police and the pamphlet.

She said she asked The Star's senior crime reporter, Mr Mike Cohen, to arrange an appointment for her with the security police, and the two reporters met Colonel Scholtz and Colonel Du Toit at John Vorster Square.

"I told the colonels of my investigations and I referred to the pamphlet and the tape, and said I believed they had been dropped at The Star by

the security police," she said.

"We got the impression they were playing games with us by making admissions and then retracting," she said.

She said Mr Cohen later asked outright whether the security police were involved.

"Scholtz said yes we (the security police) did (do the tapes and pamphlet), and Du Toit said of course we did... and said it was not the first time pamphlets and tapes were dropped at The Star and other newspapers," she said.

Miss Steyn said she had told the colonels The Star would publish only on the strength of their "own investigations and not on the evidence of the pamphlet".

She said the colonels told her that a Captain Van Niekerk was in charge of the Boesak investigation.

She said they had told her they would deny outright anything discussed about security police involvement in the affair.

"They seemed quite confident that we would not dare do such a thing," Miss Steyn said under cross-examination.

Earlier yesterday Colonel Du Toit, third in command of the security police in Johannesburg, conceded that he took no action to establish the truth of a claim by two reporters that the security police were involved in a "smear campaign" against Dr Boesak and Miss Scott.

Both he and his immediate head, Colonel Scholtz, only laughed at allegations put to them by two reporters of the newspaper in January because they believed the allegations to be "absurd".

He said they did not refer the two reporters to the officer involved in the investigation of Dr Boesak.

Colonel Du Toit said under cross-examination by the legal representative of The Star, Mr S A Cilliers, SC, that he had seen the pamphlet allegedly distributed by the security police only after it was submitted as evidence before the Media Council.

Cross-examination of Miss Steyn continues today.

Brigadier ~~van~~ ^{Star} tells when SP can 'disinform'

Chur
accepts
Boesak
denial

By Joe Openshaw
and Fiona McLeod

20/3/85

The Security Police were said to be justified in using disinformation to discredit prominent leaders of subversive organisations, provided it was in the interests of security and did not conflict with the morals of the community.

This was said by Brigadier J V van der Merwe, second in command of the South African Security Branch, when he was cross-examined at a Media Council hearing in Johannesburg today.

He was giving evidence on the third day in the hearing of a complaint brought by the South African police against *The Star* arising out of two reports published on January 11 and 25, in which the newspaper accused the Security Police of "dirty tricks" and claimed the police were behind an anonymous campaign to reveal evidence of an extramarital affair between Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, and Miss Di Scott, a former official of the SA Council of Churches.

Brigadier van der Merwe said that it was permissible to spread false information and forgeries aimed at discrediting organisations or people who presented a threat to the Security Police and the security of the State.

SACC AND UDF

He considered the South African Council of Churches and the United Democratic Front to be organisations which had tried to undermine the authority of the security police.

"I agree with the findings of the Eloff Commission that the South African Council of Churches can be considered a subversive organisation, and the UDF has been described as a front organisation for the African National Congress," he said.

Cross-examined by Mr Wim Trengove, appearing for *The Star*, Brigadier van der Merwe said he agreed with admissions made by Major Craig Williamson, a police "spy" from the Intelligence Section of the Security Police, who gave evidence in the civil trial involving Mr Auret van Heerden that in certain circumstances the police had to waive moral scruples.

"I believe it is legitimate to destroy the credibility of subversive organisations as long as the methods used are not illegal," said

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN - Dr Allan Boesak has been exonerated by the regional authority of his church of having an extramarital affair with a former SA Council of Churches worker, Miss Di Scott.

Dr Boesak said today: "If the decision had gone against me, the goal of the State-inspired smear campaign would have been realised.

"But those who supported me through this ordeal realised it was a desperate attempt by the Government to get me out of circulation."

He expressed relief at the decision, but said the pain of realising the extent of fellow churchmen's hatred for him because of his political views had hurt him more than the ordeal.

"I have always known of my differences with people in the church but had no idea there was so much hatred and jealousy," he said.

The issue had caused deep divisions in the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sendingkerk on one hand, but on the other had also brought together people who previously felt "superficial differences in outlook", he said.

After an extraordinary meeting which lasted until the early hours of this morning, the Ring van SA Gestig reinstated the NGSK clergyman after hearing his evidence.

Dr Boesak had been temporarily suspended from his position of chaplain to the South African National Congress, a position of the NGSK, assessor in the

Brigadier van der Merwe: Yes, of the Security Branch and the police.

Mr Trengove: Do the morals of the community include the morals of the Security Police as well?

Brigadier van der Merwe: Yes, of the Security Branch and the police.

Dr Boesak is a prominent leader associated with what you consider to be two subversive organisations, the UDF and the SACC: would it suit the Security Police to discredit him?

No, that would be a simplified point of view which the man in the street cherishes.

Brigadier van der Merwe said it must also be considered in which circles the person, such as Dr Boesak, would be discredited.

Mr Trengove: But Dr Boesak enjoys considerable respect in church circles?

Brigadier van der Merwe: No. He enjoys respect firstly as a member of the UDF. He doesn't receive respect as a churchman.

In which circles would Dr Boesak be discredited? — I would say his stature would be heightened in circles such as the UDF and the ANC by the exposure of this love affair.

PUBLIC INTEREST But his public image received a blow through the exposure? — Yes. We are not interested in that.

Brigadier van der Merwe said there was no section in the Security Branch dealing exclusively with disinformation.

He said that the discrediting of prominent people and organisations only suited the Security Police in certain circumstances — when it concerned the security of the State and if the Security Branch was threatened.

Earlier today the Council was told *The Star* would not have published allegations of Security Police involvement in exposing the Boesak relationship if it had not independently established the truth of the affair.

A reporter at *The Star*, Miss Chris Steyn, said both aspects had been regarded by the newspaper as of public interest and had been dealt with as "two decks of the same story".

"The Security Branch's alleged smear campaign against Dr Allan Boesak was regarded as the more important misdemeanour but we would not have published the story if we could not confirm the existence of the affair," she said.

The newspaper's reports alleged that the Security Branch had dropped an anonymous tape recording and pamphlets at the office of the newspaper, and that two Security Branch colonels had confirmed to Miss Steyn and Mr Mike Cohen, chief crime reporter, that their unit had disseminated this information.

Miss Steyn said that after *The Star* received the anonymous pamphlets concerning the relationship she had independently confirmed that Dr Boesak met Miss Scott secretly in various Johannesburg hotels during the latter half of last year.

This independent confirmation was

and we think they are the new set for their "dirty tricks", she said.

She had also confronted Dr Boesak and Miss Scott with allegations of the relationship, and was convinced that the allegations were true.

The decision to publish the reports concerning the relationship and the alleged Security Branch exposure thereof, was taken by the editor of *The Star*, Mr Harvey Tyson, she said.

Mr S J Maritz, legal representative for the police, asked Miss Steyn whether during her four years' experience as a reporter she had come to know many policemen and civil servants. Miss Steyn replied she had.

MR LE GRANGE

Mr Maritz: You said in your evidence-in-chief that during an interview on January 9 with Colonel Chris Scholtz, acting chief of the Johannesburg Security Branch at the time, and Colonel Petrus du Toit, head of the Security Branch Crime Investigation Division, the two colonels said the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, would be pleased if *The Star* published the story about the Boesak affair. Did it not strike you as strange that these two colonels would implicate their political head in their sordid affair?

Miss Steyn: Yes. They said Minister le Grange would be glad.

Did you get the impression that it was wishful thinking on their part? — No.

Did you get the impression that the whole affair had been carried out on his instructions and with his knowledge? — No, I did not think that. I got the impression that the Minister would be glad, but not that he had ordered the investigation into Dr Boesak's affairs.

The reason why we find this reference in *The Star's* reports to Minister le Grange strange is that it substantiates the newspaper's allegations that the exposure was knowingly undertaken by the Government? — That reference was there to give an accurate version of what happened during the interview.

Mr Maritz referred to evidence given by Miss Steyn that the two colonels had said during the interview that a Captain van Niekerk, who is involved in the investigation in Durban of alleged high treason committed by certain officials of the United Democratic Front of which Dr Boesak is a patron, was aware of the exposure of Dr Boesak's affair.

She said they offered to call Captain van Niekerk to join the interview, but found out that he was not in his office.

Mr Maritz: Was it not incongruous that these same people who had been trying to secure their anonymity, then offered to call in Captain van Niekerk as well?

Miss Steyn: No. It seemed to me they would do anything in their power to convince us that the affair was true and that we should publish.

The hearing continues.

● See earlier reports on Page 8.

Approval needed for bugs — claim

By Joe Openshaw

Special approval in terms of the Police Act had to be obtained from the head of the Security Police, or his second-in-command, by members of the Security Branch to bug private houses and property and hotel bedrooms during investigations, a Media Council hearing was told yesterday.

Brigadier J V van der Merwe, second-in-command of the Security Branch in South Africa, said the position of tapping and bugging was a controversial one and there was a lot of criticism of this method of investigation.

INSTRUCTIONS

Brigadier van der Merwe said there were strict instructions that bugging could not be undertaken unless the proper procedures were followed and permission obtained from him or the head of State security, Major-General S H Schutte.

He said the Security Branch was made up of ordinary men seconded for special duties from other sections of the police force and was not a closed and exclusive section.

Members of the Security Police were not allowed to deviate from the Police Act.

He said he was aware the activities of Dr Boesak were being monitored but this went for all the office bearers of the United Democratic Front. More attention was paid to Dr Boesak because of his position with the South African Council of Churches.

Reports on Dr Boesak were sent to head office on a regular basis and he had read two reports sent from Johannesburg to Pretoria on July 26 and September 29. The first report indicated Dr Boesak and Miss Di Scott were meeting secretly at Johannesburg hotels and in what was purely a love affair. The second report indicated that monitoring of the relationship between Dr Boesak and Miss Scott should be scrapped.

Brigadier van der Merwe said a pamphlet and a tape dealing with the relationship between Dr Boesak and Miss Scott had been "dropped" at the head office of the Security Branch in Pretoria on January 14.

Brigadier van der Merwe told the council the information in the reports and the allegations in the pamphlet did not tally.

The witness was interrupted at this point: "Here we have double hearsay. We haven't

the reports and we haven't the pamphlet," objected Mr SA Cilliers, who is appearing for *The Star*.

Brigadier van der Merwe said the Security Branch had not preheated a smear campaign to discredit Dr Boesak and an order to do this had not come from head office.

PERMISSION

"A mission like this by someone else in the Security Branch would not be possible without permission," Brigadier van der Merwe said.

He said it had been decided not to prosecute *The Star* in terms of the Police Act after the publication of the January 11 story because the propositions made in it were vague. The terms of Article 27 (b) of the Act were wide and open to criticism.

"After the story of January 25 in *The Star*, it was decided that there had been a malicious attempt to hit out at the police and the Security Branch.

"Two Security Branch colonels had been named as making an admission. We decided to come to the Media Council so that both sides could put their case."

Media Council told of 'admission' by SP colonels

By Joe Openshaw and Fiona Macleod

Two Security Police colonels were so pleased that *The Star* was considering publishing the Boesak love story that they were willing to do anything — even admit that they had disseminated tapes and pamphlets about the affair to newspapers, a Media Council hearing in Johannesburg was told yesterday.

IMPRESSION

Miss Chris Steyn, a reporter on *The Star*, said the colonels apparently did not believe that their involvement would be made public.

This was the impression she got when she and *The Star's* chief crime reporter, Mr Mike Cohen, confronted Colonel Chris Scholtz and Lieutenant-Colonel Petrus du Toit with allegations that they had dropped pamphlets and tapes with the media.

Colonel Scholtz and Colonel du Toit had confirmed to the two senior reporters that their unit had disseminated this information.

The South African Police have asked the council to take strong disciplinary measures against *The Star*, saying the allegations in the reports were totally false and aimed at discrediting the Security Police.

Miss Steyn said in her evidence-in-chief that the anonymous pamphlet and tape were found in her news editor's tray after they had been there for about a week.

The pamphlet contained alleged evidence of the Boesak affair and gave times and dates when Dr Boesak allegedly stayed in hotels with Miss Scott.

PHOTOGRAPH

Miss Steyn said that, while she was confirming the information in the pamphlet with four

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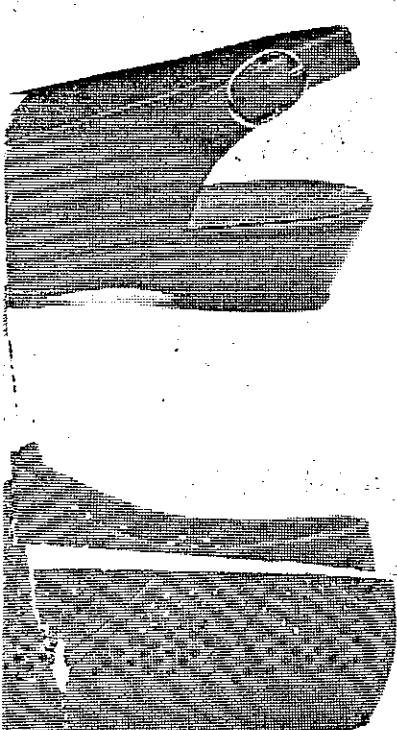
"We then told them we suspected that the Security Police were involved in the making and distributing of the tape and pamphlet. The colonels just laughed.

"Later, Mr Cohen asked them outright whether they had dropped the pamphlet and tape at *The Star*. Colonel Scholtz said: 'Yes, we did.' Colonel du Toit replied: 'Of course we did.'"

THIRD TIME

"The colonels added that it was not the first time they had dropped pamphlets and tapes at *The Star* and other newspapers. It was the third time that a drop had been made since November 1984.

Under cross-examination by Mr S J Maritz, legal representative for the police, Miss Steyn said she had had many dealings with the police.



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This was the impression she got when she and *The Star's* chief crime reporter, Mr Mike Cohen, confronted Colonel Chris Scholtz and Lieutenant-Colonel Petrus du Toit with allegations that they had dropped pamphlets and tapes with the media.

Earlier in the hearing both colonels described the allegation as "absurd".

Miss Steyn was giving evidence at the hearing of a complaint brought by the South African Police against *The Star* arising out of two reports in which the newspaper accused the Security Police of "dirty tricks" and claimed the police were behind an anonymous campaign to reveal evidence of the extramarital affair between Dr Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, and Miss Scott, formerly of the South African Council of Churches.

CONFIRMED

The reports alleged that the Security Branch dropped the anonymous tape recording and pamphlet at the office of the newspaper that Colo-

nel Scholtz and Colonel du Toit had confirmed to the two senior reporters that their unit had disseminated this information.

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The pamphlet contained alleged evidence of the Boesak affair and gave times and dates when Dr Boesak allegedly stayed in hotels with Miss Scott.

PHOTOGRAPH

Miss Steyn said that, while she was confirming the information in the pamphlet with four Johannesburg hotels, she discovered that a security policeman had approached the security manager of the Johannesburg Hotel, given him a photograph of Dr Boesak and asked to be notified when Dr Boesak booked in.

She was told that, after Dr Boesak booked into the hotel in July 1984, the security policeman was contacted and went to the Johannesburg Hotel but did not go near Dr Boesak.

She then asked Mr Cohen to arrange an interview with the Security Police on January 9.

"Mr Cohen introduced me to the colonels and said I was investigating the Boesak affair, and the tape and pamphlet dropped at *The Star*.

"The colonels seemed to know exactly what we were talking about. They did not ask to see the

tape or see the pamphlet.

"We then told them we suspected that the Security Police were involved in the making and distributing of the tape and pamphlet. The colonels just laughed.

"Later, Mr Cohen asked them outright whether they had dropped the pamphlet and tape at *The Star*. Colonel Scholtz said: 'Yes, we did.' Colonel du Toit replied: 'Of course we did.'

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Under cross-examination by Mr SJ Maritz, legal representative for the police, Miss Steyn said she had had many dealings with the police.

Mr Maritz: What were your first impressions of the pamphlet?

Miss Steyn: I did not suspect the Security Police at first. I thought it might come from a right-wing organisation or from Miss Scott's husband. I got the impression it came from someone with sophisticated surveillance machinery.

REALISED

When did you first suspect the Security Police?

When the Johannesburg security manager revealed that they had Dr Boesak under surveillance. He told me that the photograph they gave him was the same as the one on the pamphlet. This was when I realised that the pamphlet may have come from the Security Branch.

The hearing continues today with the cross-examination of Miss Steyn

20 3 85 (14) (15)
Lesotho: SIX SHOT WERE KILLED

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Political Editor

THE Lesotho government yesterday admitted that six men killed on its border by its security forces were members of the Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa, contradicting an earlier statement that they were rebels of the Lesotho Liberation Army.

A Lesotho Cabinet statement said: "Six persons believed to be members of the Pan-Africanist Congress were killed last week at Quacha's Nek."

On Monday the Lesotho Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Mr Desmond Sixishe, denied reports from South Africa and from South African expatriates in London that the six men were members of the PAC.

He insisted then that the six were members of the LLA, an underground movement seeking to overthrow the government of Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan, of Lesotho, allegedly

with the assistance of South Africa.

Explaining the contradiction, Mr Sixishe said yesterday: "On further investigation the six were positively identified as members of the PAC. The confusion arose because they were in a sensitive area used by the LLA."

Asked what PAC men were doing in a remote area near the Lesotho-Transkei border, he replied: "We are still investigating that ourselves." The names of the dead men would be released later, he added.

The official statement on the border shoot-out said: "It is understood that the group was armed and engaged Lesotho security patrol in a sensitive border area that has been used by LLA infiltrators from South Africa."

Quacha's Nek is on the Lesotho-Transkei border. Lesotho has identified Transkei as one of the areas from which LLA rebels make occasional

forays into Lesotho.

The Lesotho Government enjoys cordial relations with the African National Congress, which has emerged as the dominant force in "armed struggle" against the SA Government.

One theory for the reported presence of armed PAC men in the border area is that it might have been part of an attempt by the PAC to re-establish its image as an active force in the "liberation struggle."

According to one report, six of the 48 insurgents who were said by the Law and Order Minister, Mr Louis Le Grange, to have been involved in sabotage and terror in the Western Transvaal since last August were PAC people. In the last major LLA attack into Lesotho shortly before the New Year, insurgents killed members of the ruling Lesotho National Party, prompting the government to arm some party members.

Church accepts denial

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20/3/85

● From Page 1

NGSK moderator and chaplain at the University of the Western Cape, pending the Ring's decision.

Dr Boesak said today: "This Sunday I will be back in the pulpit."

"One of the most gratifying things to come out of the whole affair is that I now have more support than ever. I will continue to fight the Government at every level."

The Ring rejected rumours of an extramarital affair after a thorough examination of "relevant information" and hearing Dr Boesak's evidence, the secretary of the Ring, the Rev A J van Wyk, said on behalf of the body today.

In his evidence Dr Boesak denied having an extramarital affair with Miss Scott (30), a divorcee now living in Cape Town.

"In the light of this, the Ring rejects the rumours and Dr Boesak is free to resume his official duties," Mr van Wyk said.

Dr Boesak said today his evidence before the Ring was "essentially the same" as what he told a rally at Mitchell's Plain early last month when he publicly acknowledged a relationship with Miss Scott.

"What newspapers have described as taking place is a distortion out of all recognition and I will continue to deny that the affair they described took place," he said.

Dr Boesak said he was waiting to hear from the SA Council of Churches of which he is vice-president and the World Alliance of Reformed Churches of which he is president.

Ciskei court to take action against forgetful witness

MDANTSANE — A Duncan Village man, Mr Thozamile Feni, who was called as a state witness in the trial of Mr Milton Mdze, was led away from court by policemen after testifying yesterday.

While being led by the prosecutor in his evidence-in-chief, he told the court he did not remember most of the things he was being questioned on by the prosecutor.

Later, the prosecutor told the court that action would be taken against Mr Feni.

Mr Mdze has been charged with taking part in the activities of the ANC by recruiting members for the organisation, continuing to be a member of the organisation and being in possession of publications of the ANC and the South African Communist Party.

He has pleaded not guilty to all the charges.

Mr Feni was warned as an accomplice and told that if he gave evidence honestly and frankly, even if it incriminated

him, he would be exempted from prosecution.

He said he was the chairman of the South African Allied Workers' Union and had known Mr Mdze from union meetings.

He told the court that he was very forgetful and had once seen a doctor about it, but the doctor could not help him.

Asked if he ever made a statement to either the Ciskei Police or the South African Police he said he did not remember.

He conceded that he had been interviewed by the prosecutor before coming to court and that a statement had been read to him. He said he could not remember whether the statement differed from what he had said in court.

He admitted that a signature in a statement before him was his, but said he did not know under what circumstances he signed it.

At one stage the prosecutor told the court that there was giggling at

the back of the court and that this was disturbing.

The magistrate warned that the court was not a circus and if people continued to disturb the court he would hold the hearing in camera and they could find entertainment elsewhere.

Later, a security policeman, Sgt Sidney Ncandana, denied that he and other policemen had assaulted Mr Mdze.

Counsel for Mr Mdze said he had been instructed by his client that he was assaulted by Sgt Ncandana among others, on September 6 and 7.

Sgt Ncandana said he knew nothing about that.

He also denied that Mr Mdze was forced to sign a statement.

The prosecutor handed to the court a statement allegedly made by Mr Mdze to a magistrate.

Defence counsel did not oppose the statement being handed in, but told the court that their contention was that it was an admission and not a confession.

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That sunny day in Sharpeville

BENJAMIN POGRUND

AS THE sun began to rise on Monday, March 21, 1960, small groups of men walked purposefully through the streets of Soweto. They were on their way to the Orlando police station. They intended to offer themselves for arrest.

This was the start of the "positive action" against the pass laws announced three days before by Robert Mangaliso ("It is wonderful") Sobukwe, the president of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC). The pass laws were then, as now, a scourge in the lives of black people.

Sobukwe called on blacks to defy the law by leaving their passes at home, and to choke police stations, courts and jails through voluntary arrests. He said he would give the lead by going first. The slogan was: "No bail, no defence, no fine".

The PAC was a very new organisation. It had been founded less than a year before, only a few months after a breakaway from the old-established African National Congress by a group known as the Africanists. They were dedicated to black consciousness, to anti-communism and to aggressive action to end apartheid.

Sobukwe, a graduate of Fort Hare, taught Zulu at the University of the Witwatersrand. Nicknamed "Prof," he was quiet-spoken and courteous to all. He was driven by his commitment to Africanist beliefs.

In the early hours of the Monday, while it was still dark, I drove around Soweto to check on what was happening about the anti-pass campaign. I was then the Rand Daily Mail's reporter covering black politics.

It seemed it would be like any one of the anti-government campaigns, usually undertaken by the ANC, which I had been reporting during the previous couple of years: the one- or two-day events, with crowds of demonstrators and inevitable

conflicts with the police, were part of protest politics at that time.

On this occasion, the important question was: how many people would take part, because this could be a significant pointer to the rival amount of support for the PAC and the ANC?

I called in to see Sobukwe at his home in Mofolo, went to say hello to a small group of PAC men gathered around the corner outside Tshabalala's store and later saw them walking the 4km to the police station.

People on their way to work looked at them curiously. Some greeted them; others hurried to get away.

By 7am a crowd of about 200 men were at the police station. The police evidently did not know what to do about them and they were left to sit on the grass embankment inside the high mesh fence.

The hours passed. Then, late in the morning, word came that the police had opened fire at Bopholong township, near Evaton. I told Sobukwe. He was visibly upset. I told him I was going to see what was going on, so we said goodbye.

A Mail photographer, Jan Hoek, went with me. When we reached Bopholong — about 30 minutes' drive away — I found several Saracen armoured vehicles and policemen carrying rifles.

A Harvard aircraft was flying low over the area — almost at telephone pole height — in an unsuccessful attempt to intimidate the crowd of black people who had gathered.

Other Pressmen were also there, and we learnt that the convoy was on its way to "Sharpeville". I had never heard the name before, but was told it was a township near Vereeniging, not too far away. Colonel "Att" Spengler, who was in charge of the Special Branch in Johannesburg, walked over and told me to take care: "You will be between both sides today," he said.

Following in the wake of the Saracens, we drove through the streets of Sharpeville, with crowds of blacks on the pavements booing the police. Once the other side of the township was reached, the Saracens turned round and, after a short while, headed back in again. The Press were ordered to remain outside. But, with Hoek, I drove after the Saracens.

In the rearview mirror I could see a couple of officials running down the street after us, shouting and shaking their fists. So we knew we were in trouble, because we were in the township illegally. One other Press car followed us, with photographer Ian Berry and reporter Humphrey Tyler, of Drum magazine.

The Saracens disappeared into the thick of a crowd — later estimates put it at anything from 5 000 to 20 000 — outside the police station.

We parked and I moved among the crowd. People were at first unfriendly, but as soon as I said I was from the Mail they wanted to tell me their troubles — about the passes and about issues like housing. I sat on the edge of a pavement in the sun for some time and spoke to people.

A police officer was later to testify that he had seen a small grey car — that was our car — swallowed by the crowd and he

thought we were Pressmen. He also thought we were being attacked, but he was too busy to do anything about it. In fact, of course, he was wrong: people were peaceable, they accepted me and I did not have any difficulties.

At about 1pm Hoek and I decided we had better try to find out what was going on. We were worried about being arrested, so I drove along a street next to the police station to get round the side. Suddenly there were sounds like firecrackers going off, and one of us shouted: "My God, they're shooting".

At this moment I was at a T-junction and instinctively pulled the wheel to the left, to head towards the firing. People were running towards us, and I can remember one or more yelling: "Watch out, watch out ... they'll kill you."

We emerged into a large open space of ground and Hoek was shouting: "There are bodies all over. There are 20 people shot."

I pulled up and a knot of people gathered. There was a tense stillness. A man leaned into the car and hit Hoek on the head. I drove on, and came on to a wide, tarred road with the police station on the left. Still not knowing what had been happening, and still anxious about being arrested, I inched ahead in first gear — it was a three-gear Ford Prefect.

Suddenly, from the right, a man came running towards us. I could see him in slow motion. As he ran he was bending down to pick up a stone and screaming: "Who are you? What do you want?"

He threw the stone and that was the trigger to set off a mob. In a flash the car was surrounded and there was the sound of

stones splintering against the right ear, and the car thrashing.

We broke down the rear window, then the rear traffic circle down the road into the vegetation ground until road.

The car was broken and had used a that the im the roof.

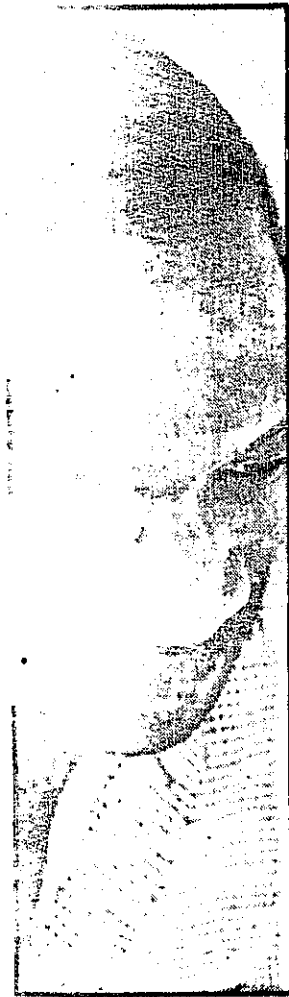
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What sunny day in Sharpeville . . .

MIN POGROUND

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In a crowd of about 200 men were lined up at the police station. The police evidently knew what to do about them and we were left to sit on the grass embankment behind the high mesh fence.

Minutes passed. Then, late in the afternoon, word came that the police had moved their base at Bopholong township, near where I told Sobukwe. He was visibly angry and told me I was going to see what happened, so we said goodbye.

The photographer, Jan Hoek, went with me. When we reached Bopholong — about 15 minutes' drive away — I found several Saracens armoured vehicles and men carrying rifles.

Several aircraft were flying low overhead — almost at telephone pole height — in a successful attempt to intimidate a group of black people who had gathered

Other Pressmen were also there, and we learnt that the convoy was on its way to "Sharpeville". I had never heard the name before, but was told it was a township near Vereeniging, not too far away. Colonel "Att" Spengler, who was in charge of the Special Branch in Johannesburg, walked over and told me to take care: "You will be between both sides today," he said.

Following in the wake of the Saracens, we drove through the streets of Sharpeville, with crowds of blacks on the pavements booing the police. Once the other side of the township was reached, the Saracens turned round and, after a short while, headed back in again. The Press were ordered to remain outside. But, with Hoek, I drove after the Saracens.

In the rearview mirror I could see a couple of officials running down the street after us, shouting and shaking their fists. So we knew we were in trouble, because we were in the township illegally. One other Press car followed us, with photographer Ian Berry and reporter Humphrey Tyler, of Drum magazine.

The Saracens disappeared into the thick of a crowd — later estimates put it at anything from 5 000 to 20 000 — outside the police station.

We parked and I moved among the crowd. People were at first unfriendly, but as soon as I said I was from the Mail they wanted to tell me their troubles — about the passes and about issues like housing. I sat on the edge of a pavement in the sun for some time and spoke to people.

A police officer was later to testify that he had seen a small grey car — that was our car — swallowed by the crowd and he

thought we were Pressmen. He also thought we were being attacked, but he was too busy to do anything about it. In fact, of course, he was wrong: people were peaceable, they accepted me and I did not have any difficulties.

At about 1pm Hoek and I decided we had better try to find out what was going on. We were worried about being arrested, so I drove along a street next to the police station to get round the side. Suddenly there were sounds like firecrackers going off, and one of us shouted: "My God, they're shooting".

At this moment I was at a T-junction and instinctively pulled the wheel to the left, to head towards the firing. People were running towards us, and I can remember one or more yelling: "Watch out, watch out . . . they'll kill you."

We emerged into a large open space of ground and Hoek was shouting: "There are bodies all over. There are 20 people shot."

I pulled up and a knot of people gathered. There was a tense stillness. A man leaned into the car and hit Hoek on the head. I drove on, and came on to a wide, tarred road with the police station on the left. Still not knowing what had been happening, and still anxious about being arrested, I inched ahead in first gear — it was a three-gear Ford Prefect.

Suddenly, from the right, a man came running towards us. I could see him in slow motion. As he ran he was bending down to pick up a stone and screaming: "Who are you? What do you want?"

He threw the stone and that was the trigger to set off a mob. In a flash the car was surrounded and there was the sound of

stones splintering the glass and crashing against the metal body. I felt a blow on my right ear, put my head down and smashed the car through the crowd.

We broke through and I went racing down the road, found it curving to the left, then the right, and realised it was a giant traffic circle and that I was heading back down the road towards the mob. I drove into the veld and bumped over the rough ground until I eventually got to a tarred road.

The car was badly damaged. The glass was broken and the body dented. Someone had used a walking stick with such force that the imprint was clear on the metal of the roof. My ear was bleeding.

We drove back to Johannesburg, using back roads wherever we could. On the way we saw truckloads of soldiers on their way to the area.

Only later, shaken and frightened and feeling lucky to be alive, did I learn that 69 had died from the police fire and 178 wounded.

The main photographs which recorded the tragedy were taken by Ian Berry. He stood up amidst the bullets and his pictures, published around the world, showed people fleeing and policemen with sub-machineguns standing on Saracens in the background.

At first the people were laughing, then they began to realise the horror of what was happening and they tried to cover their heads with jackets. Then the pictures showed the 'carnage' on the ground.

In Cape Town, thousands of blacks also gathered. Violence erupted and more peo-

ple died. Disturbances occurred in many places.

The African National Congress called for a day of mourning on March 28. Yet more deaths occurred.

On April 8, using a special law rushed through Parliament, the Government banned the PAC and ANC. A State of Emergency was declared, which was to last until the end of August. Nearly 100 000 people of all colours were arrested and detained without trial; many thousands of blacks were arrested as "vagrants".

The name of Sharpeville reverberated around the world. It came to symbolise the oppression of apartheid.

Robert Sobukwe was jailed for 10 years for "incitement". Before his sentence ended, a law was enacted to give the Government power to keep him in jail without trial. He spent six years on his own on Robben Island. He was released in 1969 but banished to Kimberley. He died of cancer on February 27, 1978.

The Pan-Africanist Congress is today in exile, in company with the ANC.

March 21, 1960, did not bring the pass laws to an end. But the chain of events set off on that sunny day in late-summer transformed South Africa.

The harsh rule of the Sixties was set in motion, and with it the Government's drive towards racial separate development and partition. At the same time, many blacks abandoned passivism and turned to organised violence to gain their political ends. In the world outside, the anti-apartheid movement began with a vengeance.

These various strands are still being worked out today.

Indian ~~Victims~~ to join PFP

IIA 2/13/85

By AMEEN AKHALWAYA in Johannesburg

OUR economy may be grinding to a halt, but we do have one growth industry — politics.

In the highly politicised Indian group area of Lenasia, near Johannesburg, people have to choose between the United Democratic Front — with its ally the Transvaal Indian Congress — the smaller Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and three other parties that are represented in Parliament.

Now a local trader, Mr Sonny Ragoo, has joined the fray by announcing that he intends launching, in defiance of the law against mixed political parties, a Lenasia branch of the Progressive Federal Party — if he can find 200 Indians to join him.

Mr Ragoo made headlines during last August's House of Delegates elections when he and his wife Ramola were injured after riot police and what he calls "political gangsters" chased demonstrators into their shop.

This week Mr Ragoo spelt out why he wants to join the PFP when there is such a wide choice of political groups available in Lenasia.

He is, as most Lenasians are, a victim of the Group Areas Act.

He produces copies of a strongly worded letter he has sent to Mr P W Botha to complain about the way the Government has treated him, especially its refusal to give him a permit to trade in central Johannesburg.

"The decision of your Government by ramming communist influence down my throat by precluding me from the free enterprise system, is unchristian and undemocratic which is only practised in barbaric countries," the letter says.

Mr Ragoo says he is an active member but not an official of the Transvaal Indian Congress, that he has the greatest regard for the TIC leaders and his heart is with the UDF.

But because the Government doesn't tolerate extra-parliamentary opposition, he says, being an activist in the TIC, UDF or Azapo could mean arrest or detention and being "immobilised".

So from the registered parties he has chosen the PFP. "Do you think they will arrest a black member of the PFP?"

And he trusts PFP leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert more than any Indian or coloured MP.

Why not join the Indian parties whose policies are similar to the PFP's?

Well, says Mr Ragoo, those parties entered the tricameral Parliament without consulting the Indian people, accepted an ethnic set-up and were soundly rejected by the majority at the polls.

But the PFP, it is pointed out to him, is also part of an ethnic set-up and it, too, was soundly trounced at the white polls. Yes, he agrees, but the PFP at least has a record of fighting for human rights and exposing Government maladministration.

If he joins the PFP, he'll still have to be a candidate for the ethnic Indian House. "Yes," says Mr Ragoo, "but I'll stand as a boycott candidate. If I win, I won't take up my seat in the ethnic house."

But the PFP won't boycott the white ethnic elections, so isn't there a contradiction?

"The PFP has told us that if it boycotts the election, it will be destroyed like the Liberal Party and more people would support the Nationalists and their apartheid policy."

Will the PFP accept his boycott platform? "I've spoken to them about it and I've had no objections."

However, Mr Ragoo does differ with the PFP on at least one policy issue.

"They say they want a national convention to which all those against violence will be invited. That is ambiguous.

"I say that for the ANC, violence was forced on to them. Are they going to reject the ANC or are they going to reject the Government which proved its violence during the tricameral elections?"

"I also don't know if they will accept this concept: the wealth of the whites, including Mr Oppenheimer's, we blacks see as not being gained free and fair but via the Group Areas Act. I want the land to be restored to the original owners."

What support does Mr Ragoo have? He says he has spoken to TIC and Azapo leaders. "The response was not favourable."

But he has sounded out others in Lenasia and says he has had a favourable response from about 200.

And he intends to hold a public meeting. If 200 or more people join the PFP, he will start up a PFP branch.

If fewer than that join, it would mean, he says, that the people reject the PFP.

However, he says he will "follow his conscience" and join the party as an individual.

Cape Times

Carfinder Inside

Stuttafords

VILLEROY & BOCH TABLEWARE
EMESS SILVERWARE

ALL LESS 25%

Table setting demonstration by Li
daily from today until 25th March in
Second Floor.

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30c (27c plus 3c GST)

THURSDAY, MARCH 21, 1985

★ FOUNDED 1876

Ring clears Boesak of having affair

Cape Times 21/3/85

By MARTINE BARKER

THE Ring of the Suid-Afrikaanse Gestig of the Ned Geref Sendingkerk has declared itself satisfied that Dr Allan Boesak was never involved in an extra-marital affair with South African Council of Churches worker Miss Di Scott.

In a decision reached after a lengthy extraordinary meeting of the Ring which was called to debate Dr Boesak's future on Tuesday night, the Ring cleared Dr Boesak of having had a sexual relationship with Miss Scott and said he was free to continue with his pastoral work for the church.

Allegations that Dr Boesak was

involved in an affair emerged earlier this year when anonymous letters and tapes were sent to newspapers around the country purporting to contain evidence to this effect.

In a statement released yesterday by the scribe of the Ring, Dominee A J van Wyk, the Ring said it appeared that "a warped version of the circumstances has been created, mainly by the news media. This has given rise to an unfortunate combination of misconceptions".

Asked whether it was possible that any further action could be taken against Dr Boesak, Mr Van

Wyk said the Ring was the body to which Dr Boesak was accountable. As far as the Ring was concerned the matter was now closed.

Dr Boesak, leader of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, patron of the United Democratic Front and student chaplain at the University of the Western Cape, previously denied having had an affair but acknowledged he had "a relationship" with Miss Scott with whom he had worked very closely.

Last month the Ring, which is constituted of the elders of 10 NGK congregations, suspended

Dr Boesak from pastoral work temporarily while the matter was under consideration.

Yesterday's statement said that after the discussion of relevant documents and of the oral evidence of Dr Boesak, the Ring had concluded "in the case in which Dr Boesak inter alia denies having an extramarital affair" that rumours and allegations about the matter "were unfounded".

"In the light hereof the Ring rejects the rumours, thus making Dr Boesak free to resume his official duties," said the statement.

At a meeting last month the Ring took a decision that in con-

sidering Dr Boesak's position it would not take into account tapes and letters which had been sent to it since they were anonymous.

Dr Beyers Naude, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, for which Miss Scott worked until a few weeks ago as a youth worker, said yesterday he could give no comment on the Ring's decision.

The matter was on the agenda for the meeting of the executive of the council scheduled for April 16 and 17. Until it had been discussed there would be no comment from the SACC.

Dr Naude said that normally in

such cases the SACC would not take into account tapes and letters which had been sent to it since they were anonymous.

The council would not respect the official church body.

The council would not accord to such decisions. The rector of the Western Cape, Richard van der Riet, said he had not been informed of the Ring's decision.

Dr Boesak's appointment as campus chaplain, and had no jurisdiction he said.

Dr Boesak could not be asked for comment yesterday.

Cape Times

Carfinder Inside

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CAPE TIMES 21/3/85
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The rector of the University of
the Western Cape, Professor
Richard van der Ross, said he had
not been informed of the decision
of the Ring.

Dr Boesak's appointment to the
campus chaplaincy was a church
appointment and the university
had no jurisdiction in the matter,
he said.

Dr Boesak could not be reached
for comment yesterday.

Acting (IA) ^{slow}
PAC chief
21/3/85
among dead

HARARE — The acting chief of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) in Lesotho, Thamsanga Zani (36) was among six PAC guerillas killed in a clash with Lesotho security forces last week, it has been reported here.

The Herald newspaper quoted a PAC statement issued in Harare as saying Zani was the secretary of the banned South African Students Organisation. One of the others killed in the clash was named as Miss Boniswa Ngcukwana, who was described as a "liaison officer".

The clash is reported to have taken place last week in the area of Quacha's Nek, in the south-east of the mountain kingdom. — The Star Bureau.

SURPRISE IN media hearing

JOHANNESBURG. — In a surprise admission before a Media Council hearing, the second-in-command of the security police, Brigadier Johan van der Merwe, said yesterday that "in certain circumstances" it was in the interests of the security branch to discredit leaders of subversive organizations.

This could be done in several ways, one being disinformation — the dissemination of false information, Brigadier Van der Merwe said. He did not believe disinformation was "immoral", so long as it did not affect the morals of the community which the security police served.

Subversive

The brigadier said earlier that the South African Council of Churches, the African National Congress and the United Democratic Front were subversive and a threat to State security.

The Media Council is hearing a complaint by the SA Police that the Star falsely reported that two security police colo-

nels, Colonel C S Scholtz and Colonel P L du Toit, of John Vorster Square, had admitted involvement in a smear campaign to discredit Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and patron of the UDF.

Brigadier Van Der Merwe denied, however, that discrediting Dr Boesak was in the interests of the security branch.

"Using disinformation depends on how it advances the security police's task, and in which circles the person is discredited," he said.

No damage

He said the smear campaign had not damaged Dr Boesak's public image. It did not discredit him in SACC or ANC circles, and had "in fact raised his status in the UDF".

Earlier, the Star's counsel produced a transcript of a cassette recording with details of a January 10 conversation between Miss Chris Steyn — the Star reporter who had investigated a pamphlet and cassette alleging that Dr Boesak had had an affair with Miss Melanie "Di" Scott, her editor, Mr Harvey Tyson, and her news editor, Mr Mike Shafto.

The transcript was pro-



Dr Allan Boesak

duced to refute allegations by police counsel, Mr S C Maritz, that Miss Steyn had "recently fabricated" three incidents:

- That the two colonels had told her a Sunday Times reporter had promised them the Boesak-Scott affair would be published if its rival, Rapport, published it first. The colonels were allegedly disappointed because Rapport had published only three "oblique" paragraphs, without using Miss Scott's name.

- That she had joking-

ly asked the colonels if there were any videotapes (of the bedroom scene) — to which the colonels replied: "Yes. Do you want to see them?"

- That the colonels had made the admissions before the Star published the January 11 article.

Mr Maritz suggested that she had fabricated the admission afterwards, as it appeared from the January 11 article that the Star had only "suspicions".

Videotapes

The transcript confirmed that the colonels' alleged admission had taken place before the publication of the article, and that Miss Steyn had mentioned the videotapes before the hearing.

The Star's chief crime reporter, Mr Mike Cohen, said in evidence yesterday that the two colonels had admitted to him and Miss Steyn that the security police were involved in a campaign to smear Dr Boesak.

Mr Cohen said he had asked Colonel Petrus du Toit and Colonel Chris Scholtz "who did it", referring to the tape and the pamphlet.

Colonel Scholtz said

"we did" and Colonel Du Toit said "of course we did", Mr Cohen said.

He said the colonels had said they would deny any knowledge of the role of the security police in the Boesak smear campaign, and that the policemen had said the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange would be "very pleased with the publication".

Miss Steyn said the editor had written the article of January 25, which contained the colonels' admission that they were involved in the "smear campaign".

Mr Tyson had decided to withhold it until then — it was a "strategic move", with which she had agreed.

Job endangered

She denied the decision to publish on January 25 was made because the police had denied involvement.

"If this story is found to be fabricated, I would lose my job. I may never get another newspaper job, and I could be prosecuted under Section 27 (b) of the Police Act," Miss Steyn said.

The hearing has been postponed until May 27. — Sapa and Own Correspondent

CAPL TINK 21/3/85 (227) (228) (114)

Video-viewing allegation 'absurd'

London Correspondent
N. — The satirical magazine Private Eye has claimed that South African security forces have been viewing a video tape of Dr Allan Boesak's alleged sexual exploits with Miss Di Scott.

The magazine claims in its latest issue that the police have been "inviting select audiences to watch the tapes at Vorster Square".

A police spokesman said

from Pretoria that the allegations were "totally absurd".

The article refers to the widely-publicized alleged affair between Dr Boesak, patron of the UDF and president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC), and Ms Scott, a former research assistant with the South African Council of Churches.

Under a prominent item headed "Letter from Johannesburg ... from our own cor-

respondent", the magazine claims that the South African police were "privately delighted" with the report in the Star which broke the news of Dr Boesak's alleged affair.

"To scotch doubts about their competence, the police have taken to inviting select audiences to view video tapes recorded at a number of locations and starring great numbers of people who do not enjoy their favour.

"The tapes are shown at John Vorster Square.

"In view of the solemn assurances of innocence in the Boesak-Scott matter, Dr Boesak may not be aware that his Ugandan accomplishments (Private Eye's euphemism for sexual relations) are playing to packed houses of salivating security personnel," the magazine said.

Private Eye also claims that

Senator Edward Kennedy's security team discovered a hidden video camera above his bed in his Johannesburg hotel room.

"The Kennedy entourage had spotted and disembowelled electronic eyes above the senator's bed in a local hotel, although the hotel insisted that they were infrared devices to change television channels," Private Eye said.

Pre-dawn raids on UDF activists

Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — Security police yesterday swooped on activists of the United Democratic Front and its affiliates, raiding about 20 houses and offices and confiscating dozens of documents.

No one was detained in the pre-dawn raids.

The raids — which took place in Soweto, the East Rand, Pretoria, the Vaal and the Northern Cape — were believed to be connected to the treason

trial of 16 UDF leaders in Durban.

According to the UDF, the police presented search warrants which said they were looking for documents of the African National Congress, the Transvaal Indian Congress, the UDF, the SA Congress of Trade Unions, the SA Communist Party, the SA Allied Workers Union and the Release Mandela Committee.

It said they were looking for these documents

as evidence in a treason trial, but did not say which treason trial was involved.

Among those whose houses were raided were Ms Amanda Kwadi, leader of the Federation of Transvaal Women; Mr Samson Ndou, UDF Transvaal vice-president; Mr Amos Masondo, secretary of the Soweto Civic Association; Mr Yusuf Dadoo, a TIC activist; Mr Pat Lapunye, a UDF activist; Mr Daniel Nkosi, of the Rotunda Civic Association; Mr Squire Mahlangu, of the Mamelodi Action Committee; Mr Enoch Godongoana and Mr Sam Mtuli of Ummawosa; Mr Jomo Kasu of the Northern Cape UDF; and Mr Alex Motwed, Mr John Radebe and Mr Montone Lashego of the Duduza Civic Association.

Kimberley

Raids also took place at the UDF Northern Cape office in Kimberley and at seven other houses in the Northern Cape.

By late yesterday the police division of public relations had not responded to a request to confirm or deny that the raids had taken place.

UDF Transvaal publicity secretary Mr Sydney Mufamadi issued a statement strongly condemning "this action to try and destroy the democratic movement in this country".

"At a time when the government is making attempts to convince the world that it is moving towards significant change in this country, the voice of the people is crushed."

PAC six killed on Lesotho border named

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Political Editor

SOURCES close to the outlawed Pan-Africanist Congress yesterday released the names of the six PAC members who were killed by a Lesotho Para-military Force patrol in a "sensitive border area" in Lesotho.

One of them, Mr Thami Zani, was a former official of the Black People's Convention and a confidant of the black consciousness leader, Mr Steve Biko.

Mr Zani, a final year LLB student at the University of Lesotho, was the acting PAC representative in Lesotho.

He fled to Lesotho after being banned in South Africa following his release from detention in 1976.

The remaining five PAC members were named Ms Boniswa Ngcukana, from the Eastern Cape, who was the PAC labour attache in Lesotho, Mr Freddy Mketi, of Soweto, Mr Thrabu and Mr Msimang (no initials available), both of Soweto, and Mr T Barnabas, of East London.

The sources rejected the theory that the dead PAC members were mistaken for rebels of the Lesotho Liberation Army by Lesotho security forces.

The LLA is trying to topple the government of the Prime Minister, Mr Leabua Jonathan.

"They were deliberately murdered," informants close to the PAC charged yesterday.

"They were in a van which is wellknown to the Lesotho Para-military Force."

They further alleged that two PAC men who sought refuge in Lesotho recently were killed and "dumped in a dam".

They named the two men as Mr Rudolf Mohele and Mr Lovely Thelegane.

The sources believed that the Lesotho Government was hostile to the PAC because some members of the LLA were trained with PAC guerrillas in Libya in terms of an agreement reached between the LLA leader, Mr Ntsu Mokhehle, and the former leader of the PAC, Mr Potlako Leballo, in the late 1970s.

MIKE PITSO reports from Maseru that the bodies of the six PAC members have been flown to Maseru by helicopter from Quachas Nek in southern Lesotho.

They are being kept at the Queen Elizabeth II mortuary.

They were killed when they encountered a Lesotho patrol in a "sensitive border area that has often been used by infiltrators of the Lesotho Liberation Army".

They were said by Lesotho authorities to be heavily armed, in what is believed to be the first time members of the PAC in Lesotho have been found in possession of arms.

Meanwhile, a member of the Lesotho Para-military Force, Private Sekuntle Ntlamelle, is to be buried at his home at Butha-Buthe in northern Lesotho on Saturday.

He was allegedly shot dead by Mr Sampson Zwindi, a member of the African National Congress who had sought political asylum in Lesotho.

Mr Zwindi was remanded after an initial court appearance and is due to appear in court again next Wednesday.

The ANC has expressed regret over the death of Pvt Ntlamelle and sent a message of condolence to his family and to the Lesotho Government.



Merry 21/3/85

A typical shot of rioters on the march.

(11A) (scribble)

Sharpeville: the tragedy of 25 years

TODAY 25 years ago the small township of Sharpeville in the Vaal Triangle shot into international prominence when police opened fire on a crowd of about 10 000 black people demonstrating against the hated pass laws, killing 69 and injuring nearly 200 people.

Shortly afterwards the Government banned the African National Congress (A N C) and the Pan Africanist Congress (P A C) — and a new era of violent confrontation in South Africa began.

Last year, Sharpeville again shot into world headlines, when as the new three-house Constitution was being inaugurated in Cape Town violence erupted in the area, resulting in the death of 40 people with more than 300 injured.

The violent clashes between authority and governed in South Africa which began at Sharpeville in September last year, have never really ended, and those conflicts have subsequently spread to different parts of South Africa, including Crossroads and the Eastern Cape.

There was also considerable violence and much death during the disturbances in Soweto and elsewhere in 1976, but it is Sharpeville, the town named after a Mr Sharpe, a former mayor of Vereeniging, which symbolises the intensity of the conflict between a white minority government and a frustrated African majority.

The issue of protest on March 21, 1960 was the pass laws. Today, 25 years later, there is increasing talk about scrapping influx control and stopping the clogging up of the courts and jails with technical offenders.

But they have not yet been scrapped. The latest figures given in Parliament show that the police arrested more than 160 000 black people for contravening the influx control measures in 1984 — one person

every 3.2 minutes of the year.

The despised pass laws, which only apply to people classified as 'black', may slowly be on the way out, but the fundamental causes of conflict in Sharpeville have not disappeared.

After the turbulence of 1976, which also affected Sharpeville, and the nation-wide school boycotts of 1980, the Government finally accepted the goal of equality of education. But in spite of a 29 percent increase in Government spending on black education in this week's Budget, black schoolchildren know that inequality in education is the continuing reality they have to face in the classroom.

BARRY STRICK reports from Cape Town

Rent increases last year, and disenchantment with the new Constitution which again excluded the African majority from having any say in the government of their own country, sparked off the violent clashes in Sharpeville and elsewhere. The rents were quickly reduced, and the violence subsided, but Sharpeville had again lived up to its symbolism.

Last year, as in 1960, the authorities quickly blamed outsiders: the chief director of the East Rand Development Board, Mr Charles Marx, said he believed the unrest was planned from outside South Africa and was timed deliberately to affect the new political dispensation. In 1960, the authorities blamed the Communists and agitators, using this pretext to ban the A N C and the P A C.

Whatever excuse the authorities might like to use, they know in their hearts that the pass laws, inequality in schools and the lack of a vote have nothing to do with outsiders or Communists — and that the National Party is still faced with the problem of how

to confront those responsible for many conservative (and

Last year Jon Qwela justifiably angered by 'Forget the faceless agitators, and intimidators and other black town disaster....

'If it was Communist the loose in the trouble almost every resident a Communist, agitator and i

With this jaundiced government reacted to the new Constitution, the A N C, which adopted a strategy of that violence is still an excuse to prevent an ernment and the A N

But, tragically, Sha demonstrated to the conflict in South Afr

It is a tragedy grasped by the mass confrontation. Botha and Bishop De Bevoise at the first meeting between the two and the bishop since 1984. And it can be seen on television show.

Mr Botha, sensible as he is, said that although the Church in a sense has been his own country. But every South African must do a final analysis, what has been all about.

And they will nev



A typical shot of rioters on the march.

(11A) (22)

Sharpeville: the tragedy of 25 years ago

A small township of Sharpeville was single shot into inter-racial violence. Police opened fire on a black people demonstration, killing 69 and injuring 176.

every 3.2 minutes of the year.

The despised pass laws, which only apply to people classified as 'black', may slowly be on the way out, but the fundamental causes of conflict in Sharpeville have not disappeared.

to confront those realities without alienating too many conservative (and racist) white people.

Last year Jon Qwelane, a Johannesburg journalist justifiably angered by the outsider conspiracy, wrote: 'Forget the faceless and nameless Communists, agitators, and intimidators. The situation in Sharpeville and other black townships was tailor-made for disaster....'

The government banned the African National Congress (A N C) and the Pan Africanist Congress — and a new era of violence in Africa began.

After the turbulence of 1976, which also affected Sharpeville, and the nation-wide school boycotts of 1980, the Government finally accepted the goal of equality of education. But in spite of a 29 percent increase in Government spending on black education in this week's Budget, black schoolchildren know that inequality in education is the continuing reality they have to face in the classroom.

'If it was Communists, agitators and intimidators on the loose in the troubled townships this week then almost every resident, including children, is a Communist, agitator and intimidator.'

Sharpeville was shot into world headlines when a new constitution was adopted. Violence erupted in Sharpeville, the death of 40 people with

With this jaundiced view about outsiders, the Government reacted to the Sharpeville killings by banning the A N C, which then went underground and adopted a strategy of violence. Today, 25 years later, that violence is still with us and is now used as an excuse to prevent any negotiation between the Government and the A N C.

BARRY STRICK reports from Cape Town

When the apartheid government began at Sharpeville in 1960, it never really ended, and eventually spread to different parts of the country, including Crossroads and the

Rent increases last year, and disenchantment with the new Constitution which again excluded the African majority from having any say in the government of their own country, sparked off the violent clashes in Sharpeville and elsewhere. The rents were quickly reduced, and the violence subsided, but Sharpeville had again lived up to its symbolism.

But, tragically, Sharpeville both in 1960 and in 1984 demonstrated to the world that the basic issues of conflict in South Africa lie within.

Violence and much more in Soweto and elsewhere. Sharpeville, the town named after the mayor of Vereeniging, was the site of the conflict between the government and a frustrated

Last year, as in 1960, the authorities quickly blamed outsiders: the chief director of the East Rand Development Board, Mr Charles Marx, said he believed the unrest was planned from outside South Africa and was timed deliberately to affect the new political dispensation. In 1960, the authorities blamed the Communists and agitators, using this pretext to ban the A N C and the P A C.

It is a tragedy graphically illustrated in the television confrontation between Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Bishop Desmond Tutu this week: here was the first meeting between any member of the cabinet and the bishop since he was given the Nobel Peace Prize in 1984. And it had to take place on an American television show.

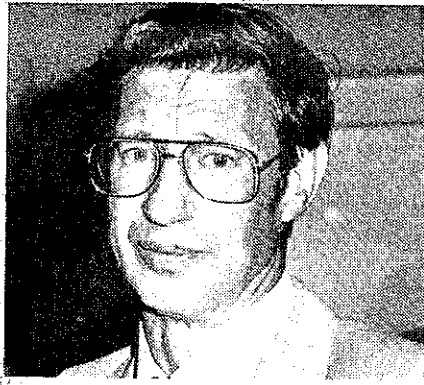
On March 21, 1960 was the pass laws. There is increasing talk of abolishing the pass laws and stopping the clogging of roads with technical offenders.

Whatever excuse the authorities might like to use, they know in their hearts that the pass laws, inequality in schools and the lack of a vote have nothing to do with outsiders or Communists — and that the National Party is still faced with the problem of how

Mr Botha, sensibly, did not respond when Bishop Tutu said that although he was a bishop in the Anglican Church in a senior diocese, he could not vote in his own country. But that issue, the equal right of every South African to their own country, is, in the final analysis, what the conflicts in Sharpeville have been all about.

was scrapped. The latest figure shows that the police arrested 1,000 people for contravening the pass laws in 1984 — one person

And they will never be forgotten.



Brigadier van der Merwe
... Security Police.



Media Council chairman
Mr Justice van Winsen.



Colonel du Toit ... Security Police.

No interest in discrediting Boesak, says security chief

IIA (2) (2) S law 21/3/85

By Fiona Macleod and Joe Openshaw

The second-in-command of the South African Security Police was closely cross-examined on the methods and philosophy of his department in a day of drama at the Media Council yesterday.

The drama began when counsel for the police, Mr S J Maritz, suggested to a reporter of *The Star* that her evidence concerning the admissions by two Security Branch colonels in regard to police involvement in exposing the Boesak affair may not have been available when the first allegations of "dirty tricks" were published by the newspaper on January 11.

CHALLENGED

Mr Maritz challenged the reporter, Miss Chris Steyn, that she had fabricated evidence in her testimony which she had not mentioned in her affidavit before the council.

Counsel for *The Star* then produced a transcription of a tape recording made the day before the newspaper published the "dirty tricks"

story — and also sworn affidavits which had been made by Miss Steyn and Mr Cohen to support her evidence before the council.

Miss Steyn told the council that *The Star* had withheld the admissions made by Colonel Chris Scholtz, deputy chief of the Johannesburg Security Branch, and Lieutenant-Colonel Petrus du Toit, chief of the Security Branch crime investigation division — that they had dropped tapes and pamphlets at newspapers — for a follow-up story or as a back-up in case of police prosecution.

LEGITIMATE

Brigadier Johan van der Merwe, second-in-charge of the South African Security Branch, told the council it was legitimate to destroy the credibility of subversive organisations in certain circumstances.

The brigadier was being cross-examined by Mr Wim Trengove, appearing with Advocate S A Celliers for *The Star*, on the third day of the hearing of a complaint brought by the

South African police against *The Star* arising out of reports published on January 11 and 25 in which the newspaper accused the Security Police of "dirty tricks" and claimed the police were behind an anonymous campaign to reveal evidence of an extramarital affair between Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, and divorcee Miss Di Scott, a former official of the S A Council of Churches.

The police have asked the council to take strong disciplinary measures against the newspaper, saying the allegations in the reports were false and aimed at discrediting the Security Police.

RECORD

Mr Trengove read from the record of the Auret van Heerden civil action against 10 security policemen in which Major Craig Williamson, of the intelligence section of the Security Police, said he had no moral scruple against putting out false information about organisations or persons he believed to be

subversive. Mr Trengove asked Brigadier van der Merwe if he agreed with this philosophy.

"The Security Police are justified in using disinformation to discredit prominent leaders of such organisations, provided it is in the interests of security and does not conflict with the morals of the community," the brigadier said.

He considered the SACC and the United Democratic Front as organisations which had tried to undermine the authority of the Security Police.

Mr Trengove: Dr Boesak is a prominent leader associated with what you consider to be two subversive organisations (the UDF and the SACC) would it suit the Security Police to discredit him?

Brigadier van der Merwe: No, that would be a simplified point of view which the man in the street cherishes.

CIRCLES

The brigadier said it must also be considered in which circles the person, such as Dr Boesak, would be discredited.

Mr Trengove: But Dr Boesak enjoys considerable respect in church circles?

Brigadier van der Merwe: No. He enjoys respect firstly as a member of the UDF. He doesn't receive respect as a churchman.

In which circles would Dr Boesak be discredited? — I would say his stature would be heightened in circles such as

use such "dirty tricks" tactics? — If they did so without permission from headquarters, it would be against regulations. It would be risky and the normal protection they enjoy as members of the Security Branch would fall away.

NO INQUIRY

So, the following day, the Commissioner of Police issued a denial of the allegations in the report without any inquiry having been made at all? — Yes.

The brigadier said he first heard of the existence of the tape and pamphlet in the first week of January. A member of "Group A", the team investigating the ANC, the UDF and related organisations, had told him that the tapes and pamphlets were going around.

Mr Trengove: Why did you not ask the Johannesburg branch to get hold of the tape and pamphlet?

Brigadier van der Merwe: There was no evidence at that stage that it was in the interest of security.

You said you received the tape and pamphlet at headquarters on January 14. Why did you not show them to or discuss them with the Johannesburg branch? — I did not think it was necessary.

After the report of January 25, did you not show them to Colonel Scholtz and Colonel du Toit? — They had denied explicitly that they were in-

the UDF and the ANC by the exposure of this love affair.

But his public image received a blow through the exposure? — Yes. We are not interested in that.

During further questioning the brigadier said that the Security Branch had no interest in discrediting Dr Boesak.

INSTRUCTIONS

Mr Trengove asked the brigadier whether there had been any specific instructions to Security Police in Johannesburg to monitor the secret meetings of Dr Boesak and Miss Scott.

Brigadier van der Merwe said that, after the second report appeared in the newspaper on January 25, head office investigated and discovered Lieutenant Chris le Roux was investigating the meetings between the couple.

Mr Trengove: When the first report appeared on January 11, why did you fail to inquire from the Johannesburg branch what they knew about the allegations in the report?

Brigadier van der Merwe: We were receiving reports countrywide on Dr Boesak. There was no reason at this stage to believe that it concerned reports which came from Johannesburg. The allegations seemed to be aimed generally at the Security Branch.

But you knew that the Johannesburg branch was paying attention to Dr Boesak. Was it not evident that they were aware of the meetings between the couple? — Yes.

So the reason why you failed to investigate the newspaper report was not because you were uncertain which branch it implicated? — No. We discussed the situation and decided that the January 11 report was false. It was based on a mere suggestion, so we did not make any inquiries.

Was it not possible that an individual member or members may have thought that it was in the interests of security to

involved in the smear campaign. Why should I have shown them the tape and pamphlet?

So if you had not decided at the last minute to testify, no one in this council would have known that the Security Police were in possession of a tape recording and pamphlet? — No.

INTERVIEW

Mr Mike Cohen, chief crime reporter of *The Star*, said he accompanied Miss Steyn to the interview with Colonel Scholtz and Colonel du Toit on January 9.

"It struck me as strange that they granted us an interview without even inquiring what it was to be about. In my six years as crime reporter, this had not happened before.

"I got the impression they knew what we wanted to see them about.

"At one stage of the interview I asked them straight out who had dropped the tape and pamphlet at *The Star*. Colonel Scholtz leant back in his chair and said: 'We did.' He looked at Colonel du Toit, who said: 'Of course we did.'

AMAZED

"I was amazed at this response. I know how tight the Security Police are with their information. I have been dealing with them for years.

"With that information I felt we had enough confirmation for any story Miss Steyn wanted to do about the affair, the monitoring of the affair and the dissemination of the tape and pamphlet.

"When they made the admission, the impression I got was that the Security Police were so frustrated that none of the papers had cottoned on to the story that they were quite happy to make this admission. It was almost as if they wanted to force us to run the story," Mr Cohen said.

Mr Cohen will be cross-examined when the hearing resumes on May 28.

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CAPE Times 21/3/60 (11A)

ANC slogans at clinic in Sharpeville

PRETORIA. — A Sharpeville medical centre was broken into yesterday, the eve of the 25th anniversary of mass unrest and death in the renowned West Rand township, and ANC slogans were painted on the building and documents set alight, police said.

Little damage was caused to the Sharpeville Health Clinic when it was broken into during the early morning, a police spokesman here said. No one has been arrested.

Police said African National Congress slogans were spray-painted across the clinic walls and documents taken from filing cabinets had been set alight.

Meetings banned

Meetings in the Pretoria area to mark the anniversary of the Sharpeville shootings have been banned by the Chief Magistrate of Pretoria.

The chief magistrate, Mr Harold Thompson, said he had prohibited all meetings in his magisterial district in commemoration of Sharpeville between 7am today and 7am tomorrow.

On March 21, 1960, mass rioting broke out in townships near Sharpeville after the Pan-Africanist Congress called on black people countrywide to throw away their pass books and surrender to the police.

Demonstrations and stoning incidents began in Bophelong and Boipatong, and about 4 000 people marched on the Vanderbijl Park police station.

Army reinforcements,



The front page of the Cape Times on March 22, 1960 — the day after Sharpeville.

including Saracen armoured cars, were called in to assist police in Bophelong, and later seven Sabre jets and eight Harvard aircraft swooped low over the demonstrators.

"Meanwhile, events were coming to a head in Sharpeville," according to a Rand Daily Mail report at the time. "This was to be the scene of the bloodiest outbreak in this 2-million-pound model township's life of 18 years."

By midday on March 21, as many as 20 000

demonstrators and spectators, including women and children, had surrounded Sharpeville police station. Many demanded arrest, but police refused.

Telephone lines to the township had been cut and a radio call for assistance was sent from the beleaguered station.

Soon after Colonel Pine Pienaar of the Witwatersrand police had been led through the crowd, a few rioters dashed at the station gates.

"They were supported

by a hail of stones and metal," the Daily Mail said. "Shots were fired at the police."

Police fired back and, the Mail reporter wrote: "Volley after volley of 303 bullets and Sten gun bursts tore into between 15 000 and 20 000 people surrounding the police station.

"They fled so quickly that hundreds of shoes, trousers and jackets — and even chairs — were left behind."

Bodies in trucks

Two truckloads of bodies were taken away, while hospitals in the area filled to capacity with the wounded. Others had to be transported to Baragwanath, 50km away.

At least 60 people died during the few minutes of shooting.

A medical practitioner, Dr Jack Friedman, later testified before a judicial inquiry that 52 of the fatally wounded had been struck by bullets from behind.

Sharpeville gained worldwide news coverage for South Africa at the time the then prime minister, Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, was spearheading a campaign to gain Republic status for the country.

On the night of March 21, 1960, journalist Roy Terry reported: "All is peaceful and quiet in Sharpeville ... At the new police station — opened six months ago — the streets have been washed clean of blood by a thundershower." — Sapa

● A lasting symbol of conflict, page 10

2 ANC men killed, arms cache found

(11A) (11A) Dispatch 22/3/85
JOHANNESBURG — Police have shot dead two men — identified by the Commissioner, General Johan Coetzee, as "trained ANC terrorists" — after hand grenade and gun battles in the Eastern Transvaal.

Five "terrorist collaborators" were also arrested and a cache of hand grenades, limpet mines and AKM rifles and ammunition was discovered.

Also held was a man who threw a hand grenade at police as they approached a house at the start of the intensive operation on Tuesday.

A policeman was slightly injured in the explosion but the "terrorist" surrendered when police opened fire on the house.

In a statement yesterday, General Coetzee said police had established that the arrested man and the two who were killed were "fully trained ANC terrorists, trained inter alia in Angola and East Germany and involved in previous attacks on strategic government targets in the Republic".

After "exhaustive and

discreet inquiries" SAP units went to a house in the Eastern Transvaal, Gen Coetzee's statement said.

"On arrival, a handgrenade was hurled at the members by someone in the house. An SAP member was slightly injured," Gen Coetzee said.

"Following up information, the police discovered an arms cache containing defensive and offensive handgrenades, limpet mines, AKM rifles and ammunition.

"Further information led police to two other men who were killed in a shootout," Gen Coetzee said.

"In addition, five terrorist collaborators, four men and a woman, were arrested for providing active assistance to these terrorists."

Last night, the police spokesman said the "collaborators" would be charged and brought before court.

He refused to divulge where the arms cache was found or exactly where and when the two shootouts took place. — DDC

HOUSE PRESEN-
TATIVE Labour Par-
ty MPs yesterday at-
tacked white municipa-
lities — including the
Cape Town City Council
— for ignoring coloured
needs.

Mr Jac Rabie (LP Rei-
gerpark) urged that the
City Council be "forced
to new insights".

Moving his private
member's motion in the
House, Mr Rabie called
on the government to ex-
pedite implementation of
regulations designed to
improve communication
between local authori-
ties and local manage-
ment and affairs commit-
tees.

Mr Rabie read a letter
from the Cape Town City
Council saying the coun-
cil was consulting with
the provincial Executive
Committee to ensure
smoother communica-
tion with management
committees.

"The largest amount of
our people live under the
Cape Town City Coun-
cil's management. It is of
utmost importance that
this council be forced to
new insights."

Mr F L Erasmus (LP
Gelwendale) said even in
cities where regulations
had been implemented
allowing coloureds on to
councils, the desired
ends had not been
achieved.

LP attack on City Council



Mr Jac Rabie

At the Cape Town City
Council sub-committee
meeting, on which four
coloureds sat, none of
the suggestions put for-
ward by coloured mem-
bers on Bonteheuwel
were implemented. They
concerned improve-
ments to lighting, sewer-
age and roads.

"Coloureds also pay
rates and taxes and then

the City Council spends
it in Cape Town ...

"We must riot to get
something done. We
want to negotiate."

Mr Peter Mopp (LP
Border) said although
coloureds were allowed
into the highest level of
government, whites on
city councils did not
want "to know them".

He said the council
were sick of people
who knew nothing about
their living conditions —
deciding for them.

The Minister of Local
Government, Housing
and Agriculture, Mr Da-
vid Curry conceded
there were white people
who had gone out of their
way to improve relations
at the local level.

The State President,
Mr P W Botha, and the
Minister of Constitution-
al Development and
Planning, Mr Chris
Heunis, had even "put
their heads on the
block".

But local authorities
were using "the big stick
— and making radicals
out of people walking the
middle of the road".

The local authorities
should look closely at
South Africa and see that
unrest always started
with rentals.

Mr J D Johnson (LP Es-
selen Park) said there
was a "verkrampde" ele-
ment in local authorities
which did everything
possible to delay reform.

"When you are travel-
ling through a town and
you are on a tar road,
then you know you are in
a white area. But when
the tar stops — that is
where you will find us."

The motion was passed
unanimously. — Sapa

2 'terrorists' shot
in E Transvaal

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Police have shot dead two men — identified by the Commissioner of the SAP, General Johan Coetzee, as "trained ANC terrorists" — in the Eastern Transvaal.

Five "terrorist collaborators" were also arrested and a cache of grenades, limpet mines and AKM rifles and ammunition was discovered.

Also held was a man who threw a grenade at police as they approached a house at the start of the intensive operation on Tuesday.

A policeman was slightly injured but the "terrorist" surrendered when police opened fire.

In a statement yesterday, General Coetzee said police had established that the arrested man and the two who were killed were "fully trained ANC terrorists, trained inter alia in Angola and East Germany and involved in previous attacks on strategic government targets in the Republic".

Last night, a spokesman for the SAP public relations division said police could not identify the "strategic government targets" yet.

Police have refused to pinpoint where the battles took place — "because investigations have not been finalized yet" — but the Rand Daily Mail understands that they were in the vicinity of Bushbuckridge, near the Mala Mala game reserve.

General Coetzee said that after the man who hurled the grenade had been arrested, the police discovered the arms cache. "Further information led police to two other black men who were killed in a shootout.

"In addition, five terrorist collaborators, four black men and a black woman, were arrested for providing active assistance to these terrorists."

Last night, the police spokesman said the "collaborators" would be charged and brought before court. Investigations are continuing.



Police vehicles patrol Fourteenth Avenue, Langa, where police opened fire on a crowd of up to 4000 people in the township yesterday morning.

CAPE TIMES 22/3/65 *16*

World spotlight on SA shootings

From JOHN BATTERSBY
LONDON. — Both the British and American media yesterday gave prominent coverage to the shooting of 17 people in Uitenhage on the 25th anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre.
 The British Government last night expressed "deep concern" at the "tragic and unnecessary deaths", a Foreign Office spokesman said.
 "We condemn violence in South Africa from whichever quarter it comes and the South African Government is aware

of our views on violence," the spokesman said.
 The British Council of Churches also condemned the shootings, describing those killed as "victims of police terror".
 The BBC radio and television 1pm news bulletins and ITV news carried the shootings in Uitenhage as their main news items.
 Reports of the shootings were juxtaposed with flashbacks to mark the 25th anniversary of the shooting by

police of 69 people protesting against the pass laws.
 The BBC's World at One (radio news) described yesterday's shootings as "a dreadful coincidence and an awful echo" of the 1960 Sharpeville massacre.
 A wide range of activities marking the 25th anniversary of Sharpeville in Britain included:
 ● A rally in London last night addressed by the president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston.

● A three-hour vigil and "act of witness" at St Martin-in-the-Fields yesterday afternoon.
 ● The planting of a tree by the black peer, Lord Pitt of Hampstead, in St Pancras Gardens.
 ● A torch vigil in Glasgow organized by the Scottish Anti-Apartheid Movement.
 Richard Walker reports from New York that the secretary-general, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, yesterday joined United Nations diplomats in observing a minute's silence "for those who have fallen" in

South Africa.
 A UPI report from Washington quotes the Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, as exploring the latest shooting deaths, saying "there's no excuse for it".
 "Let me just say again I find it deplorable and have nothing except denunciation to say for it," he said.
 Yesterday's violence was given extensive coverage by the American media and it was presented as the main item on many television and radio morning news bulletins.

11A Stav
**Demo bid
for 'ANC
offices** 22/3/85

COPENHAGEN — Police removed 15 demonstrators from the South African consulate in Copenhagen yesterday after they occupied the building in order "to set up an office for the ANC".

About 15 demonstrators moved furniture around and hung anti-apartheid banners from the windows of the first-floor office, police said.

About 30 other demonstrators tried to get past police officers at the scene. Scuffling broke out and a glass door was broken, but no further demonstrators were able to get into the building.

The demonstrators had proclaimed the consulate "ANC territory". — Associated Press.

TIA D. Dispatch
Boesak, Tambo
clash in debate 23/3/85

JOHANNESBURG — The American television network ABC's Nightline programme broadcast from Johannesburg last night highlighted differences in the attitudes of a UDF leader and an ANC leader towards Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu.

Dr Alan Boesak, a UDF patron, Mr Oliver Tambo, leader of the banned ANC and Chief Buthelezi met in a cross-continent debate in the last of a five-part series broadcast from Johannesburg.

Also participating was Dr Connie Mulder, deputy leader of the Conservative Party.

The government had declined an invitation to participate in the debate, which presented a unique debate between representatives of a wide range of South African opinion.

However, the programme did have a 30-minute interview with the State President, Mr P. W. Botha.

Technicians who watched the programme said afterwards that the presenter, Ted Koppel, had sparked sharp debate by asking Mr Tambo his views on Chief Buthelezi's participation in the homeland system.

Mr Tambo's response cannot be quoted because he is listed. However, his attitude to Chief Buthelezi was said to be conciliatory.

Dr Boesak disagreed with Mr Tambo, sharply criticising Chief Buthelezi for his role.

Mr Tambo also had a sharp interchange with Dr Mulder when Dr Mulder said the ANC had been banned because it was a violent organisation.

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Crocker snubbed

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The UDF yesterday said it was "disgusted" by the reaction of President Ronald Reagan to the shootings in Uitenhage and the organization has snubbed Dr Chester Crocker, United States Assistant Secretary of State, as a result.

UDF officials said the US Embassy had requested the meeting with Dr Crocker yesterday, but that the UDF had declined the invitation.

Mr Popo Molefe, UDF general secretary, said any meeting with Dr Crocker would be impossible because of Mr Reagan's statement.

Mr Reagan had said there was an element in South African that did not want a peaceful solution of the country's problems but preferred violence.

He said that to suggest that the violence came totally from the police ignored the fact that there was rioting going on at the time.

Mr Molefe said the UDF found it hard to distinguish between the words of the US president and those of the South African Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange.

Uitenhage residents stand by claim of police brutality

Grange 'is denying the truth

11A
Stew 27/5/85
by
Jon Qwelane

UITENHAGE — Despite the announcement in Parliament by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, that allegations of police brutality in the troubled township of Langa were gross exaggerations, the Uitenhage Black Civic Organisation (UBCO) last night said the Minister was denying obvious truths.

The UBCO said its members watched as police, shortly after the shooting, went round the area and fired more shots at people who were already lying on the ground.

The leadership of the organisation insists that many people saw the police shooting at fallen victims.

'Le Grange has no right to his job'

DURBAN — The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, should be sacked for failing to control his police force; Professor John Dugard said in Durban yesterday.

He was referring to deaths from police shooting in unrest near Uitenhage. The professor, director of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, was addressing students at a seminar on "Security in South Africa", arranged by the SRC of the University of Natal.

Professor Dugard said a Minister of Law and Order who "is unable to control his police force has no right to stay in the Cabinet".

He also said the Government was manipulating the legal process by withholding bail from opponents pending long-drawn-out political "show" trials.

"The Government is entering a new phase in which it is using lawyers and courts rather than detentions to discredit and eliminate opposition," he said.

Professor Dugard accused the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, of "knowingly speaking nonsense" on the TV programme "Nightline" when he said attorneys-general were not Government officials.

"Bail is an essential component of the due process of law and in the latest treason trial it has been denied to the accused by the Government, acting through its agent, the Attorney-General of Natal.

"I would be very surprised if Natal's Attorney-General had not been directly or indirectly instructed by the Government to do this to the United Democ-

UBCO claims further that, immediately after the shooting, police were seen collecting stones from 16th Avenue and placing them among the fallen bodies.

"We condemn the action taken by the SAP in shooting at the people who were going to attend a funeral," the UBCO statement said.

"Nobody conveyed the message that the funeral had been stopped. The people organised themselves and marched to Kwanobuhle township.

"While they were in Maduna Road they were blocked by the police who fired without asking any questions or even giving a single warning," the statement said.

'People thrown

The UBCO said it also condemned in the strongest terms "the way people were thrown like bags of mealie meal into the police Hippos".

Langa continued to be kept under police surveillance last night as the second day of continuous roadblocks at the townships entrances ended.

Meetings in all Uitenhage townships are banned and the atmosphere is tense.

Gatherings

At midday yesterday police drove around the townships and, using loud hailers, warned residents not assemble in groups of more than four at any point as that constituted a gathering. They said open air gatherings had been banned since March 1 1984 except when such meetings were of a bona fide sports or religious nature.

But, shortly afterwards, police dispersed a multiracial gathering of about 30 priests who were holding a service for the people

A QUIET, unannounced but determined one-woman crusade over the past few years has caused consternation and the collapse of apartheid social barriers in shops and Government buildings in the small Free State town of Brandfort.

This ultra-conservative white village, 60 km south of Bloemfontein, lies in the heartland of Afrikaner nationalism, a citadel of apartheid.

The woman involved is in many ways one of the most remarkable individuals who has yet emerged in our apartheid society. She is 50-year-old Winnie Mandela, wife of ANC leader Nelson Mandela who is serving a life sentence in Pollsmoor.

Since May 16, 1977 she has been banished to faraway Brandfort after previously being restricted to the magisterial district of Soweto.

There on a winter's day in 1977 she was dumped in the black township Majwemasweu. One kilometre outside the tranquil, sleepy white village, separated by a railway line and a stretch of barren veld, lies this little township of dirty roads and matchbox red brick houses.

There she has been living in her tiny home — effectively a prison — for the past eight years, not allowed to leave the Brandfort magisterial district without Ministerial permit if she wants to visit her husband once a month in prison 1 000 kilometres away.

She may not leave her home before 6 am and must return by 7.30 pm. And as all banned people she may not meet more than one person at a time. Neither may she be quoted.

Yet she seems quite undaunted by all these restrictions. Vivacious and an extrovert, exuding a warm personality and a bubbling sense of humour, on a recent visit I discovered how she had not only survived these years, but

Winnie



lar the voluntary segregation imposed in white shops.

When she arrived in 1977, she was determined to ignore all apartheid signs. When applying for a permit at the police station, or entering other Government buildings she used only the white entrances — and nobody dared chase her out as was done to local blacks.

In those years the Brandfort supermarket was typical of hundreds of such shops in towns and villages all over South Africa. No blacks could enter the building.

At the one side of the shop there was an outside window counter. There blacks had to queue and wait until the white "missus" had time to take their orders.

But from day one, eight years ago, Mrs Mandela in her natural, regal way just swept into the shop as astonished white customers and clerks gapingly looked on.

She did her shopping and no one dared challenge her presence. By her third visit white customers simply disappeared within minutes of her arrival. They all waited in their cars for this "black pariah" to leave before going back.

This resulted in a change of strategy. Instead of doing her shopping weekly, Mrs Mandela visited the shop every day.

She would linger for half an hour, leaving eventually with perhaps only a loaf of bread or a tin of food.

After a number of weeks the shop management could no longer cope with this disruptive one-woman defiance campaign.

The outside window — a hateful symbol — was closed and filled up. Today blacks freely enter this and any other shop — a small contribution in the ongoing struggle for human dignity in South

ations. Vivacious and an extrovert, exuding a warm personality and a bubbling sense of humour, on a recent visit I discovered how she had not only survived these years, but how she in fact came, saw and conquered Brandfort.

I was doing an overseas film report on her routine daily activities. It reflected the pattern of her life since she settled in Brandfort. A combination of community activity, helping ordinary people, while keeping in touch with the outside world, both in South Africa and beyond.

The first black woman to be trained as a social worker, she is also a qualified nursing sister. Next to her cramped little home there is a new prefabricated building, her small health clinic.

Here before 8 am her daily routine starts, with a group of 20 to 30 black women queuing up on the grass, waiting patiently under a willow tree for her clinic to open.

In this outdoor waiting area she also receives a constant stream of visiting international figures, such as Senator Edward Kennedy, coming to pay homage. And also humble and unsophisticated black workers who have come not only for medical assistance, but for advice on practical problems such as growing vegetables.

In her clinic she provides pills, injections and basic health care to women and their babies. I am told that the few white doctors only treat blacks after 5 pm — and at no other time. That is locally known as "kaffer tyd".

At 10.15 Mrs Mandela drives her red van to the post office in the town. There she is waiting for, and making, calls at two public phones — her link to the outside world.

There are calls from her attorney in Johannesburg, to her daughter in Swaziland and to the Catholic Bishops' Conference in Pretoria.



This one-woman defiance campaign who breaks down racial barriers in an apartheid citidel

JHP Serfontein

She uses the phone in the white section of the post office, in a corridor outside where the white farming and

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again with half-lowered eyes, acting as if they had never really seen her.

and filled up. Today blacks freely enter this and any other shop — a small contribution in the ongoing struggle for human dignity in South Africa.

Indeed her presence was, and is, a thorn in the flesh of the local whites. Efforts prior to her arrival to isolate her in advance by informing the local blacks at special meetings not to have anything to do with her as she was a "terrorist and a communist", have clearly failed.

Some time ago white farmers apparently found to their astonishment and anger that unemployed blacks refused to be picked up at the spots where they usually gathered to go and work for R5 a month on the land.

Apparently under her influence and guidance local blacks were taught that they could survive with greater dignity if they began their own small vegetable gardens to produce their own food.

It is therefore no wonder that at one stage there was a protest meeting by the local whites who complained to the Government about her presence.

And they wanted to know what they had done wrong to be singled out of all the places in South Africa to be punished by Winnie Mandela's presence.

Mrs Mandela, on the other hand, shows no hatred.

On the contrary, her stay in Brandfort seems to have given her a perceptive understanding and insight into Afrikaner thinking which I have encountered among very few observers.

I believe she has discovered behind much of the overt racism and even hatred for blacks a genuine deep fear among Afrikaners about their survival as a separate entity — something which has evoked even some sympathy.

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There are calls from her attorney in Johannesburg, to her daughter in Swaziland and to the Catholic Bishops' Conference in Pretoria.

Whilst she talks on the one phone, the other rings every few minutes, and she has to run from booth to booth. One call is from Cape Town — an embassy wants to make an appointment for an important foreign visitor. Then she is back to the first phone as she battles to get through to her daughter in Swaziland.

There are arguments with the telephone exchange officials who are accused of listening in and weakening the quality of the line. A furious Mrs Mandela shouts at them to get off the line.

This one-woman defiance campaign who breaks down racial barriers in an apartheid citidel

JHP Serfontein

She uses the phone in the white section of the post office, in a corridor outside where the white farming and village community collect their post at their private boxes.

And she also uses the counter for whites inside the post office. Although the official racial segregation notices were removed recently, the partition between the white and black sections still remains.

And in practice the unsophisticated, more subdued local blacks dare not use the white section, fearful of local white reprisal and of their jobs.

But standing unconcernedly

in the white queue, Mrs Mandela happily talks to excited blacks — clearly idolising her and relishing in her quiet defiance of apartheid — through the opening in the partition between the two sides.

The whites in the queue with her are obviously embarrassed, but pretend not to see her at all. This pattern of behaviour is the same wherever she goes in Brandfort — at the telephone booths, inside the post office, walking on the pavements or entering the shops.

The moment she is seen, people half halt in their tracks, pause, have a quick look of recognition, and then half-a-second later proceed

again with half-lowered eyes, acting as if they had never really seen her.

Our filming inside the post office is suddenly and rudely ended when an infuriated postmaster storms in, chasing out the crew "from my office".

His anger clearly reflects the resentment of the white community, furious about the international attention Mrs Mandela — "a kaffer meid", I heard a local saying — is receiving from the media.

One saga in particular highlights her single-minded refusal to bend to apartheid — her campaign to break down racial segregation in Government buildings and in particu-

blacks were... could survive with greater dignity if they began their own small vegetable gardens to produce their own food.

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On the contrary, her stay in Brandfort seems to have given her a perceptive understanding and insight into Afrikaner thinking which I have encountered among very few observers.

I believe she has discovered behind much of the overt racism and even hatred for blacks a genuine deep fear among Afrikaners about their survival as a separate entity — something which has evoked even some sympathy for the Afrikaner dilemma. After all, her local attorney, at whose office she receives regular overseas calls from ANC leader Oliver Tambo, is an Afrikaner.

Yet after spending a day in Brandfort with her, one detects that her vivacious extroversion and irrepressible humour is but a mask behind which is hidden a deep heartache, a bitterness, a smouldering anger about the tragedies of her own life, her 22-year separation from her husband and about the daily experiences of her black compatriots in apartheid society.

'They hid my brother's body'

THE brother of one of the six PAC members shot dead near the Transkei border early this month has accused a senior Lesotho Interior Ministry official and a senior policeman of deliberately blocking his attempt to identify his brother's corpse.

Sthonga Zani told City Press his brother Thami Zani — a Pan Africanist Congress acting representative in Lesotho and a friend of the late Steve Biko — was killed with Nisikelelo Barnabas of East London, Nkululeko Masimola of Pre-

torias, Siyabulela Twabu of Bizana, Boniswa Ngukana of Kentani and Rex Mkhethi of Lady Frere.

It was reported that the PAC members were killed when they came across a Lesotho patrol in a "sensitive border area that has been used by Lesotho Liberation Army infiltrators".

The Lesotho Government said they were heavily armed — but Mr Zani denies this.

He says no arms were found on them.

Mr Zani claims the six were mercilessly shot down.

When he went to identify the body, he says, he was "blocked" by a senior Interior Ministry Official and a senior policeman.

On March 19, Mr Zani was eventually allowed to see the body.

DETENTION ON TRIAL

A MEETING to mark National Detainee Day will be held at Durban's St Anthony's Church tomorrow.

Speakers will look at how the Government is increasingly disguising its use of detention without trial by delaying the start of court cases and refusing bail.

A similar meeting in Maritzburg tonight will look at how the detention system is used to silence opposition in SA.

Refusal of bail

Ches
puts UDF

16 in 24/3/85

financial crisis

SEVERAL of the 16 United Democratic Front leaders charged with treason face financial ruin because they have been refused bail.

Natal UDF president Archie Gumede and Natal Indian Congress vice-president M J Naidoo have already had to close their law practices and Transvaal Indian Congress president Essop Jassat had to close his surgery.

Natal UDF publicity secretary Lechesa Tsenoli announced this at a Press conference.

He also said the national and international campaign to have the 16 released would be stepped up.

All 16 are their families' chief breadwinners. Their families face financial as well as emotional hardship, he said.

"About half of them are self-employed doctors or lawyers and, because they have been in jail for so long, their practices are collapsing."

The UDF added that the State's decision to refuse bail was "a camouflaged form of detention without trial" and that the continued detention of the 16 was a way of harassing the organisation and "cracking down" on extra-parliamentary opposition in South Africa.

As part of the build-up to international pressure, Transvaal UDF organiser Murphison Morobe is in America at the moment.

He is campaigning to bring the continued detention of the 16 to the attention of the American public and to build up overseas pressure for their release.

Mohamed complains

THE PRISONS Department won't comment on the claims of UDF leader Ismail Mohamed - charged with treason - that he had not received the treatment he needed after a major heart operation less than two years ago.

Prof Mohamed made his claims in an affidavit given to the Natal Attorney-General.

West Cape UDF goes for younger president

11A C. Press 24/1/85



THE UDF seems to believe in "catching them young". This youngster attended last weekend's meeting with his mother and took a keen interest in the discussions.

IN A major reshuffle in the UDF's Western Cape region, veteran trade unionist and respected community leader Oscar Mpetha, 74, was replaced as president at its annual general meeting last weekend.

A much younger figure, Western

Cape Civic Association senior executive member Zoli Malindi, takes over the UDF hot seat.

Only veteran sports administrator and trade unionist Christmas Tinto retained his position as one of the two vice presidents after the reshuffle.

Joseph Marks has been replaced by Wilfred Rhodes.

The UDF now has three secretaries in the region instead of two - Trevor Manuel remains in office while newcomers Miranda Nqwanyshé and Ebrahim Rasool fill the other positions.

Cheryl Carolus, one of the key figures in the UDF's administrative work during the past year, was not available for re-election.

Jonathan de Vries was replaced by the energetic Zoliswa Kota in the demanding position of publicity secretary, while Joe Adam replaced Andrew Boraine as treasurer.

Other executive members are Rev Syd Lucket, Mildred Lesia, Mountain Qamela and Graeme Bloch.

'Our theme is strength'

UDF'S Natal region plans to move onto a more aggressive political footing with the new executive chosen at Natal's AGM last weekend.

With the new theme - From Mobilisation to Organisation - the UDF hopes to restructure the organisation so that decisions can be taken quicker and more effectively.

Its affiliates have been given a

time limit in which to re-apply in writing for membership, and there will be a tightening up of the system of delegates to regional executive meetings.

"We want to be quite sure that our membership is not simply 'paper' membership - we want written applications because that will bring more commitment," one official said.

The new executive committee is headed by treason trialist Archie Gumede, unanimously re-elected president.

The 200 delegates also chose Rev Mcebisi Xundu as Natal chairman. His deputy is Billy Nair, Victoria Mxenge treasurer, Lechesba Tsenoli the new publicity officer and Yunus Mahomed secretary.

Boesak: It's been hell

By SYLVIA VOLLENHOVEN

DR ALLAN BOESAK, reinstated in the Ned Geref Sendingkerk after being cleared of having an extra-marital affair, is "deeply sorry" about the effect of the episode on his former assistant, Miss Di Scott.

In an interview with the Sunday Times, Dr Boesak reiterated that he had had "a very close" relationship with Miss Scott — but he would not elaborate on the nature of the association, which he has previously described as unique.

In the first time he has spoken to the Press about what he calls "months of hell", Dr Boesak told of the immense pressure to which church authorities who had to judge his behaviour were subjected.

"Never in the history of our church had anything like this happened. There were so many external powers trying to influence the decision that the church must make.

"It was such a blatant effort from the side of the Government

'Deeply concerned' about Miss Scott

to get rid of a political opponent.

"There was also so much internal pressure on the Ring," Dr Boesak said in an interview yesterday.

It was alleged that Miss Scott, a former worker with the South African Council of Churches (SACC), had been conducting an extra-marital affair with Dr Boesak, the leader of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

Cleared

After several long and extraordinary meetings, the Ring cleared him of the charges and said he was free to perform his clerical duties again.

"I'm still too close to describe the recent events in my life properly, but I'm beginning to understand what it means when we

say of Jesus that he descended into hell.

"The excruciating pain, the uncertainty and especially the vulnerability.

"There was nothing I could do to defend myself. By nature I'm a fighting person. It was very hard to be simply a victim," said Dr Boesak.

Asked about the effect on Miss Scott's career, Dr Boesak said she had resigned from the SACC before newspaper reports of their alleged extra-marital affair.

"She has not been well. I'm deeply concerned about the effect on her, of all this in general.

"She is a person of such tremendous dedication and she is so talented."

Commenting on the current South African Media Council hearing and the evidence being delivered by reporters and Security Policemen, Dr Boesak said:

Filth

"I will let them wallow in their own filth."

Asked about the effect on his wife and four children, he said they had all "come through this remarkably well".

According to Dr Boesak, there were definite elements in the Sendingkerk hierarchy who wanted him ousted from the church. He claimed they were in cahoots with the Government.

"One thing they didn't foresee was the reaction of the Bellville Church Council.

"I have had such incredible love and support from the church, almost to a person. That was a major obstacle for them (his opponents).

"But still, it's an extremely painful experience."



DI SCOTT
"So talented"



Dr Allan Boesak ... "never in the history of the church"

ANC may kick out Denis Goldberg

By RAY JOSEPH: London

DENIS GOLDBERG faces expulsion from the African National Congress for agreeing to the no-violence conditions that secured his release from life imprisonment.

Sources close to the ANC say that the movement's London Regional Political Committee (RPC) intends using a technicality to block any attempt by Goldberg to rejoin the ANC.

They plan to force him to re-apply for membership on the grounds that his prison term does not automatically qualify him for continued membership.

It is understood that when he does re-apply, he will be told that his renunciation of violence in South Africa is incompatible with ANC policy.

The RPC will also argue that he has said that he would like to go back to South Africa... which he cannot do if he is to continue taking part in ANC affairs, which are illegal in SA.

After renouncing violence, the ANC seems unsure of what to expect from Goldberg.

Entitled

If he remains in London — which he would be entitled to do because his British wife and son live here, and both his parents were British — it would take some time for him to be rehabilitated to the ranks of the ANC, sources say.

Also, he is unlikely to be asked by the movement to address anti-apartheid meetings, even in his individual capacity.

The ANC is divided over



Denis Goldberg ... his SA release has divided the ANC

Goldberg, who has arrived in London from Israel following his release from Pretoria Central Prison after serving 21 years of a life sentence.

The differences revolve around the declaration re-

nouncing violence that the South African Government insisted Goldberg sign as a condition for being freed.

After his release last month, the ANC, in an official statement from its Lusaka

headquarters, made clear its feelings on the step taken by Goldberg — after Nelson Mandela had rejected a similar offer.

While refusing to comment specifically on Goldberg, the statement contained an implied criticism of him.

Although a handful of prominent members of the ANC and the South African Communist Party met him at Heathrow Airport on Tuesday, it is unlikely they were there as ANC representatives.

Most of them were long-time friends and former prisoners, and their official position was pointedly low key.

Founder

One source said: "Goldberg was both a founder and a senior member of the Umkhonto We Sizwe (the ANC military wing) when he was arrested.

"Normally one would have expected Oliver Tambo (ANC president) or another very senior member to have met him. They were conspicuous by their absence."

Significantly, John Nkadi-meng, the leader of the South Africa Congress of Trade Unions and a senior member of the ANC, was in London when Mr Goldberg arrived, but he did not go to Heathrow to meet him.

Mr Solly Smith, the ANC chief representative in London, was also conspicuous by his absence, which was attributed to a long-standing engagement in Scotland.

The London office of the ANC has learned to be cautious about members who are released from prison in SA and then come to Britain.

David Kitson, who was released last year, was suspended from the movement within months.

When Kitson arrived in Britain, the ANC had a formal reception and Press conference for him. But the ANC did not have "such razzmatazz" for Goldberg.

Twenty-five years on, and

LITTLE SHA

THREE DIFFERENT STORIES: What the Minister said

THE appointment of a judicial commission of inquiry into the circumstances surrounding the deaths of 19 people at the hands of the police outside Uitenhage on Thursday has highlighted conflicting versions by those concerned with the tragic events.

The Tribune today identifies three main versions of what happened, which the Commission will consider: those recounted by black youths involved in the death procession, by high level police officers at the scene and by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, in Parliament.

All agree on only one central fact — that 11 people died in a deadly fusillade fired by police at members of the procession, with another eight dying later in hospi-

tals, to bring the death toll to 19.

The deaths occurred 25 years to the day after 69 protesting blacks were shot and killed at Sharpeville, in a few moments that horrified the world and materially affected the way it viewed South Africa.

The world has again expressed its horror and repugnance at this week's "little Sharpeville" and it remains to be seen how far the tremors from the incident will spread and what their effects will be this time on South Africa's precarious world position.

The first coherent version of the events of last Thursday morning came from the police liaison officer of the Eastern Cape, Colonel Gerrie van Rooyen, at around 1pm, at a hastily arranged Press conference

in the Uitenhage police sta-

Earlier, local members

ried to the death site in a p
After consulting the poli
Colonel van Rooyen said
that morning a police pat
cession of between 3 000
duna Road, Langa townshp

He said that a Lieuten
charge of the patrol, ha
cession to stop and disper
shot at the feet of the p
dressed entirely in black.

After initially heading t
cession moved forward ar
his men to open fire, said C

THESE ARE VERSIONS OF THE KILLING JUDICIAL COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

By Ken Vernon

A 16-year-old youth has told how he lay among his dead and wounded friends and pretended to be injured during the Uitenhage shooting.

"When they just started shooting I lay flat on the road because they were firing at those trying to run away," said the youth, who preferred to remain anonymous. "People were groaning all around me, and after the shooting stopped the police came along and kicked everyone to see who was dead.

"They kicked me on the head but I just lay very still and they went past," he said. "Later I sneaked away and saw them dragging all the bodies to one place."

The following are extracts from affidavits taken by PFP representatives from eye-witnesses of the Uitenhage shooting

□ A 22-year-old man:

ON March 21, I went to 24th Square to get transport to the funeral at KwaNobuhle. We boarded a van.

A Hippo arrived and police got out. There were black and white police. They told us to get out and threatened us with guns. We then decided that we would walk if we were not allowed to ride.

There were four people who were telling people to walk. I think they were Rastafaris. They told us



ARPEVILLE

aid; how the police told it . . . and what the people say

ce station.
 bers of the Press had been fer-
 in a police Caspir vehicle.
 e police involved in the incident,
 said that at approximately 9.15
 e patrol had come across a pro-
 3 000 and 4 000 people in Ma-
 vnship.
 eutenant J Fouche, who was in
 ol, had twice ordered the pro-
 disperse before firing a warning
 the procession leader, a man
 ack.
 ding the order to stop, the pro-
 ard and Lieutenant Fouche told
 said Colonel van Rooyen.

He said that Lieutenant Fouche had said the members of the procession had been carrying "stones and half bricks" — but made no mention of petrol bombs, and, significantly, did not say at any time that the police patrol had been attacked or physically threatened in any way.

After the news conference a Sunday Tribune representative was shown what Colonel van Rooyen said were the remains of an unexploded petrol bomb found at the scene.

In reply to a pointed question, he said that no petrol bombs had been thrown and that the remnants of the unexploded bomb, the neck of a bottle stuffed with paper smelling of petrol, had been found where some of the bodies had fallen.

The second official version of the incident was offered later that afternoon in Parliament by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange.

Mr le Grange said the members of the procession had been armed with "stones, sticks, petrol bombs and bricks".

He repeated that the procession had been warned by Lieutenant Fouche, adding that they had been told that their march was illegal in terms of a prohibition on open-air gatherings.

Mr Le Grange said that after ignoring Lieutenant Fouche's warning, the procession surrounded the police patrol and began pelting it with stones, sticks, bricks, petrol bombs and other missiles.

INGS SIMILAR TO THOSE THE / WILL HAVE TO CONSIDER

"The police officer had no alternative but to order to fire, in self defence," he concluded.

The third version of the incident has been grafted together from interviews gathered from eye witnesses and from those actually in the procession.

All of those spoken to conform on several important aspects.

First, they say that since the procession was a funeral procession no one carried any stones or other weapons as a mark of respect for the dead.

Members of the Press found no evidence of any large number of stones or bricks at the death site when they visited it two and a half hours after the shooting.

Those spoken to agree that the procession had not at any stage attacked the police, and say that the police did not offer any warnings but opened fire without saying anything to them or firing any warning shots.

Lastly, everyone spoken to said that more than one police vehicle was present at the scene of the shooting, but there is no uniformity on the number or type of vehicle.

Most state that police vehicles were present both in front and behind the procession when the firing started.

Conflict

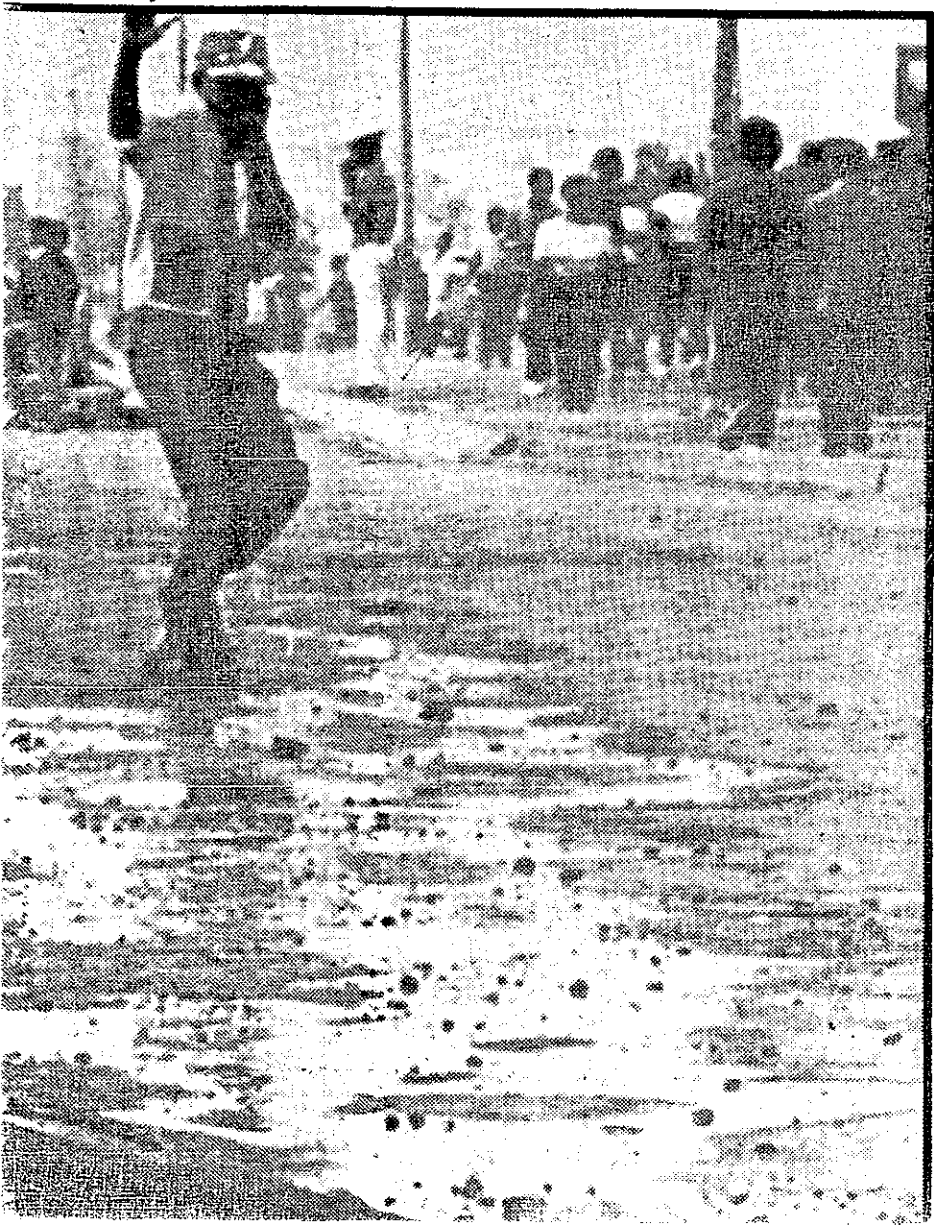
Another major conflict between both police versions and that of the black youths is that police have said the pro-

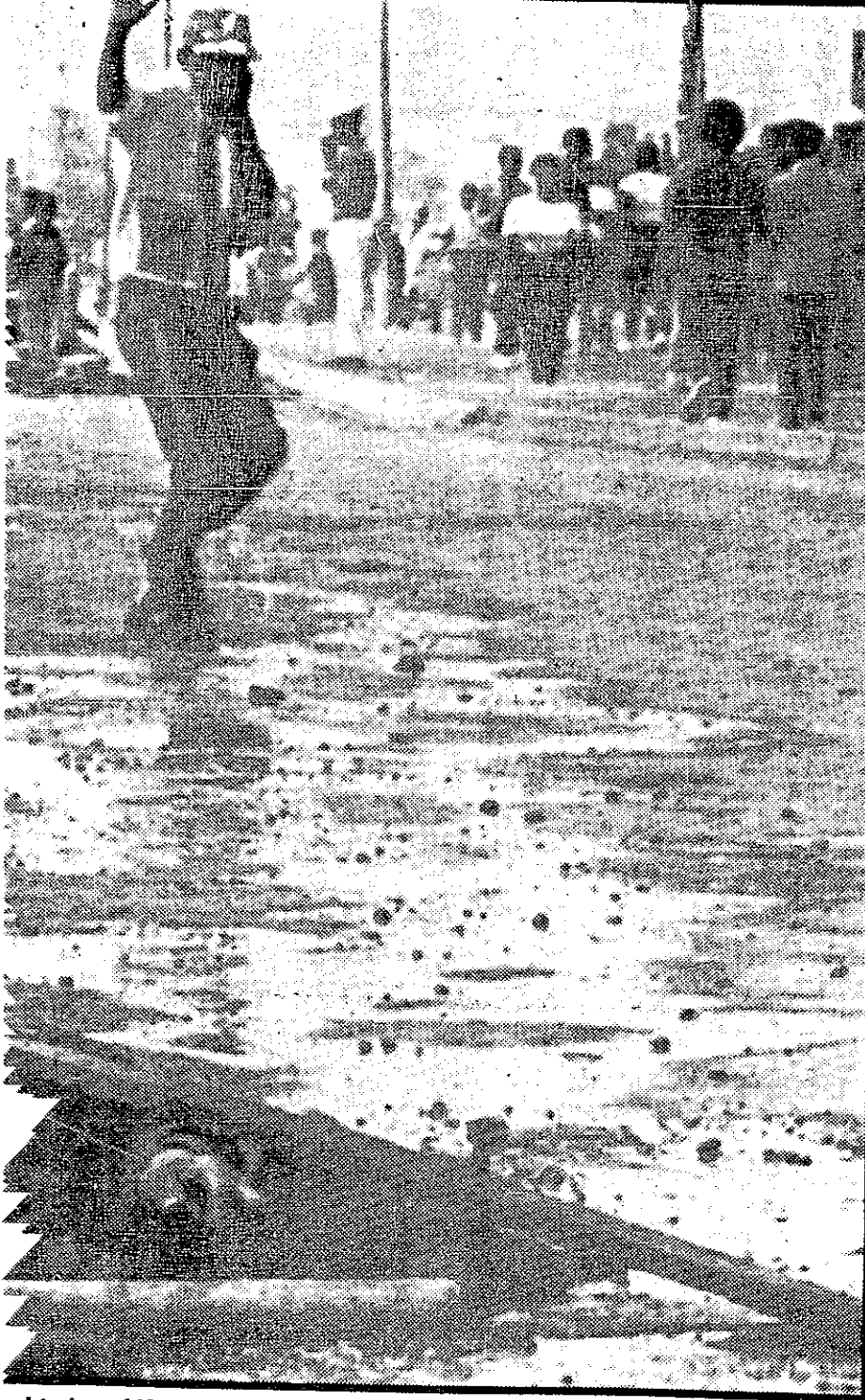
There was no warning when he was shot and then the police fired at the crowd. The people were in front of the Hippo. They were not around it. When the police fired, I threw myself onto the ground. I heard the police say: "We must kill all the people still alive".

The police put stones on the road. I was put in an ambulance. People who were wounded were trying to run away and the police were beating them. In the hospital, I ran to the toilet where I cleaned the blood from my clothes. I then walked out of the hospital.

☐A man from Langa: I LAY on the ground like a dead person. Police said they must shoot the ones who are not dead so they do not make a claim. The police put stones on the road. I was put in an ambulance. In the hospital, I escaped.

☐A woman from Langa, 51 years old: THE policeman shot the man on the bicycle in front of the people and then the other people. I ran to the houses nearby. When we looked back at Meduna Road, there were lots of people lying on the ground. We saw the police collecting stones and putting them in the hands of the people on the ground.





Dead to be of KwaNobuhle Councillor Mr T B Kinikini and two of his sons

star and perhaps was a captain. I asked him why did they kill the people like that. The captain said the police had heard the people were going to stone the white people in the town. I said: "It is unfair to kill all these people".

□A man from Kaba: THE people were peacefully going to KwaNobuhle. We were not carrying stones and I saw no petrol bombs. The man in front of the people who was riding a bicycle was shot. There was no warning and we were not told to go away. There were no stones

thrown at the police. The man on the bicycle was passing the Hippo when he was shot. The crowd was behind this man and the Hippos were not surrounded. The police then fired at the crowd and I ran away. I was hit on the head by a bullet and I fell to the ground and pretended to be dead. As I was lying on the ground, I heard a black policeman say that they must finish them or they would make a claim. The man lying next to me was shot while he was on the ground and police said he was a leader. I was shot in the foot

A white policeman then examined me to see if I was dead and said: "Hy is lankal dood, hierdie kaf-fir". A white policeman shone a torch into my eyes and he left me. The police then scattered some stones and put them on the ground where the bodies were.

□A man from Kaba location: A MAN was in front on a bicycle and a white man on a Hippo pointed a gun and shot him. The police man did not say that people must go back. I saw no stones being thrown or spears or petrol bombs

gained together from interviews gathered from eye witnesses and from those actually in the procession.

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□A man from Langa: I LAY on the ground like a dead person. Police said they must shoot the ones who are not dead so they do not make a claim. The police put stones on the road. I was put in an ambulance. In the hospital, I escaped.

□A woman from Langa, 51 years old: THE policeman shot the man on the bicycle in front of the people and then the other people. I ran to the houses nearby. When we looked back at Meduna Road, there were lots of people lying on the ground. We saw the police collecting stones and putting them in the hands of the people on the ground.

□A 21-year-old male from Langa: WHEN I got close to the two Hippos they started shooting. While I was lying on the ground the police came among us. They took our umbrellas. It was hot.

They said all who were alive must get up. They hit and kicked us. Police collected stones and scattered them among dead people. I was taken to hospital and escaped. I escaped because, though I was innocent and had done nothing, I was afraid I would be put in jail.

Another major conflict between both police versions and that of the black youths is that police have said the procession was heading toward the white area of Uitenhage. The youths say they were going to the funeral site in the nearby Kwanobuhle.

A close look at the geography of the area shows that both alternatives are possible.

It will be the unenviable job of the judicial commission to sift through the myriad individual stories of those involved in order to arrive at some conclusive sequence of events about what is generally agreed is an incident South African history could have done without.

Conflict

PHILIPS HEARING AIDS

By Ken Vernon

A 16-year-old youth has told how he lay among his dead and wounded friends and pretended to be injured during the Uitenhage shooting.

"When they just started shooting I lay flat on the road because they were firing at those trying to run away," said the youth, who preferred to remain anonymous. "People were groaning all around me, and after the shooting stopped the police came along and kicked everyone to see who was dead.

"They kicked me on the head but I just lay very still and they went past," he said. "Later I sneaked away and saw them dragging all the bodies to one place."

The following are extracts from affidavits taken by PFP representatives from eye-witnesses of the Uitenhage shooting

□ A 22-year-old man:

ON March 21, I went to 24th Square to get transport to the funeral at KwaNobuhle. We boarded a van.

A Hippo arrived and police got out. There were black and white police. They told us to get out and threatened us with guns. We then decided that we would walk if we were not allowed to ride.

There were four people who were telling people to walk. I think they were Rastafaris. They told us we must walk quietly.

We were talking but not singing. The Hippo was driving ahead of us. We were carrying sunshades and jackets over our shoulders. I did not see any sticks or spears.

The Hippo stopped on a rise and parked across the road. There was a boy riding a bicycle. When he got to about 10 metres from the Hippo, we were about 20 metres behind him.

A shot was fired and the boy on the bicycle fell. No warning was given. No teargas had been fired. It was a calm and sunny day.

The boy who was shot was in front of me. I saw that he had been shot through the head and his brains were on the road. I ran and so did the others but the police were shooting at all of us. People were falling on either side of me. One of those who fell was one of the Rastafaris. I was afraid that I would be shot too, so I fell to the ground.



□ One of five hacked and charred bodies in the black Uitenhage township. Three are believed

The Rasti was in front of me. He tried to get to his feet. I heard someone call out in Zulu: "Shoot again, shoot again ... the Rasti is still alive."

A number of shots were fired and the Rasti fell. I think he was dead. I was very afraid and got up and ran bending over double.

I saw another Hippo in the road behind us, in the direction I was running. A shot was fired at me, wounding me below my left ear. There was a culvert under the road. I ran towards it and was hit again in my left thigh and right leg. I dived into the culvert and hid.

□ A 40-year-old man:

I WAS in a big crowd. We were going to get into the vans to go to the funeral. Two Hippos and two Landrovers drove up. There were men in uniforms. Black and white men. They stood on the Hippos and told us to get out of the vans.

The people said they would have no option but to go on foot. The crowd moved down Meduna Road. They were talking but not singing. There were no stones. They were peaceful.

One Hippo drove next to the crowd. Another drove ahead and stopped in front. The police

jumped out of the Hippo as it stopped and started shooting. This was not in the air. The Hippo was about 20 metres from me, in front of the crowd. They shot, some from the Hippo, some from the ground. The police from the other Hippo also alighted and started shooting.

Two Landrovers stopped behind the Hippos. The people ran. The police were using machine guns. The bullets came rapidly. They sprayed the crowd with bullets.

People were falling and pushing to get out. I ran to the

house. I saw a big number of people lying down. They were bleeding and moaning and crying, writhing in pain. I saw one stand up and a policeman hit him.

People were loaded into Landrovers and ambulances. They were pulled indiscriminately, no worry for their injuries.

Much blood lay on the spot. The fire brigade came to hose down the blood. The crowd moved towards the police to find out about the dead. I told them to stay back. One person should go and speak. A white policeman came to me. He had a

Boesak: 'At least 43 died'

DR Allan Boesak, leader of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, claimed yesterday that the unrest in Uitenhage killed 43 people at least.

Speaking in Oudtshoorn at a rally to commemorate the 25th anniversary of Sharpeville, Dr Boesak disputed the official figure of how many people have died.

"The Minister of Law and Order (Mr Louis le Grange) says there are 19 dead. My information is that not less than 43 people were killed.

"We will never forget this act of violence and how many people have been shot in our streets as if they were dogs," Dr Boesak told a crowd of almost 4 000 people.

The rally was the last in a series organized by the Ecumenical Support Group — a body specially formed to rally round Dr Boesak during the recent publicity about his alleged extra-marital affair.

According to Dr Boesak, the call from the leader of the Labour Par-

ty, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, for the Minister of Law and Order to resign was ridiculous.

He said Mr Hendrickse was as responsible as the minister, Mr Le Grange, for these deeds.

In a stinging attack on the Labour Party, Dr Boesak said: "What shall it help if Le Grange resigns and Hendrickse still sits there in Parliament?"

"They (the Labour Party) are not exonerated, they are part and parcel of this government. They

must walk out themselves.

"They sold our people for a mess of apartheid pottage and we will not forget."

The Oudtshoorn cinema, where the meeting was held, was festooned with UDF banners.

The crowd stood to a person, chanted and cheered when organizers carried an African National Congress flag on to the stage.

Hundreds of school-children formed part of the crowd that had been bussed in from all over

the surrounding rural areas.

A prominent feature of the meeting was the number of people wearing red caps and T-shirts which bore the slogan "We stand by leaders".

Speakers told the meeting how seven people were arrested in George on Thursday when they had been putting up posters to draw attention to the rally.

But on Saturday — after they had gone on hunger strike — they were each released on R100 bail.

FIRST SERMON SINCE SCANDAL

ARG-US 25/3/85 11A

Boesak tells of his 'hell'

Staff Reporter

IN his first sermon since his church cleared him of having an extra-marital affair, Dr Allan Boesak told his Bellville South congregation: "One endures such a hell hopefully only once in one's life."

The controversial Ned Geref Sendingkerk clergyman was welcomed back by church elder Mr H Bredekamp, who read to the packed church the decision taken last week by the Ring van SA Gestig, regional authority of the church.

Dr Boesak was suspended from his clerical duties pending the ring's decision. It found allegations of Dr Boesak's affair with former SA Council of Churches worker Miss Di Scott unfounded and reinstated him.

Stood by him

Referring to his ordeal, Dr Boesak said he had reached a stage when he almost no longer knew God. There had been long periods in the past month when he did not pray and when he opened his mouth to speak to God he "simply made a noise".

He thanked the congregation and the church council for the way in which they had stood by him and his family.

Basing his sermon on Jesus's trials in the Garden of Gethsemane, he said: "From time to time people called by God to do exceptional things find themselves in a Gethsemane situation.

"Too important"

"One realises only later what it means to be the voice of God in an exceptional way during exceptional times — to be urged by God to speak of the pain and suffering of others," he said.

Now he knew a little of what it was like.

"You cannot stand there and show that you are weak or afraid or that you have doubts ... what is at issue is too great, too important. There are people's lives at stake," he said.

There were times when the urge to accept attractive offers from overseas and live another life were great, he said.

AKGWS 22/3/85

UDF calls for mourning week

(117)  Staff Reporter

THE United Democratic Front has called for this week to be one of mourning for those who died in the Uitenhage shootings and has planned a protest meeting in the Hanover Park Civic Centre on Wednesday.

The UDF publicity secretary, Ms Zou Kota, said today the organisation called on all South Africans to wear black armbands this week in mourning for those who died when police fired on people on their way to a funeral.

She said Wednesday's meeting was one of several planned to protest against the shootings and would be addressed by UDF patron and leader of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Dr Allan Boesak. It will start at 7.30pm. There would be other speakers.

Members of the national executive committee of the UDF, including its new president, Mr Zollie Malingi, returned from Uitenhage today after spending the weekend investigating the situation.

Police 'pleased' about paper's Boesak report

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Two Security Police colonels were willing to do anything to see the publication of the relationship between Dr Allan Boesak and Miss Di Scott, a reporter told a Media Council hearing in Johannesburg.

Miss Chris Steyn, a reporter on The Star, said the colonels were even happy to admit they were responsible for giving the material to the newspaper.

She said they apparently did not for a moment believe that their involvement would be made public.

This was the impression she got when she and the chief crime reporter, Mr Mike Cohen, confronted Colonel Chris Scholtz and Lieutenant-Colonel Petrus du Toit with serious allegations that they had dropped pamphlets and tapes with the media.

She had not expected the admission from the men and was shocked by it, she added.

Miss Steyn was giving evidence at the hearing of a complaint brought by the

South African Police against The Star arising out of the newspaper's claims that the police were behind the exposure of the relationship.

The reports alleged that the Security Branch had anonymously dropped the tape recording and pamphlet at the office of the newspaper, and that Colonel Scholtz and Colonel du Toit had later confirmed to the two senior reporters that their unit had disseminated this information.

The South African Police has asked the Council to take strong disciplinary measures against The Star, saying the allegations in the reports were false and aimed at discrediting the Security Police.

Miss Steyn said: "I believe the colonels made the admission because they were pleased about the possible publication and because they felt safe from being implicated. They did not dream that we would involve them in any way whatsoever."

"My impression that they were pleased was strengthened when Mr Cohen tele-

phoned Colonel Scholtz the following morning and the colonel asked how the story was going and if we had everything we needed.

"Obviously they weren't suspecting that we were going to involve them. During the interview, the colonels said they would deny outright any publication of their involvement."

Of the interview with the colonels Miss Steyn said: "Mr Cohen asked them outright whether they had dropped the pamphlet and tape on The Star. Colonel Scholtz said: 'Yes, we did'. Colonel du Toit replied: 'Of course we did'.

"They were surprised and happy that The Star was going to publish the story because none of the other newspapers had so far published it."

Under cross-examination by Mr S J Maritz, legal representative for the police, Miss Steyn said she had four years' journalistic experience before the incident and had many dealings with the police — though not with the Security Branch — as a reporter.

Mr Maritz: What were your first impressions of the pamphlet?

Miss Steyn: I did not suspect the Security Police at first. I thought it might come from a right-wing organisation or from Miss Scott's husband. I got the impression it came from someone with sophisticated surveillance machinery.

When did you first suspect the Security Police? — "When the Johannesburg security manager revealed that they were watching Dr Boesak. He told me that the photo they gave him was the same as the one on the pamphlet. This was when I realised the pamphlet may have come from the Security Branch."

You said it seemed numerous microphones had been used in the making of the tape recording? — "Yes, and it is common knowledge that the Security Police are capable of producing a sophisticated recording."

The hearing continues.

Leaders 'won't be silenced'

CME Times 26/3/85
114

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE wave of unrest sweeping the country was a sign of determination on the part of blacks that they will no longer suffer the system of apartheid, PFP leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert warned yesterday.

"The current wave of unrest is not just mindless violence perpetrated by unruly mobs," Dr Slabbert said in a prepared speech at the University of Natal in Maritzburg.

"It is a sign of depth of leadership that will not be silenced by bannings, nor bluffed by vague statements of good intentions."

The ever-increasing frequency of unrest was also an indication that the "strong arm" response of Sharpsville of 1960 and Soweto of 1976 could no longer secure even temporary peace.

The unrest, he said, was a symptom of:

- A government that has lost the initiative for reform.
- A total breakdown in communication between government and a disenfranchised majority.
- A government that can only rule through the coercion of its political opponents outside Parliament.

Dr Slabbert said the worst response for the white electorate at this stage would be to rally into a laager behind President P W Botha and a National Party that had lost control of the economic, political and security situation.

'Pursuit of power'

"It is absurd to offer the release of Mandela in the hope of talking to the ANC while the accepted leaders of the UDF are detained and charged with treason, while they have repeatedly and before audiences of thousands, begged for peaceful change through negotiation," he said.

Speaking at another meeting in Howick yesterday, Dr Slabbert said the Nationalist Government had been overtaken by the timetable for reform and could not "fix" the country, even if it wanted to so.

"The PFP must therefore brace itself for a change from its historic opposition stance to a new position in pursuit of power," he said.

Dr Slabbert said that President P W Botha's speech at the opening of the tricameral Parliament was a significant shift away from National Party orthodoxy.

However, this shift lay at the level of rhetoric rather than action, of words rather than deeds.

"But despite the votes that the Nationalist Government got in the election nearly four years ago, this government neither has the talent, nor the policies, nor the will, nor the credibility, nor the all-round capability to govern modern multiracial South Africa with safety and success."

Labour condemns violence

AKGus
26/3/85
HD

Political Staff

THE Labour Party has again condemned the violence which resulted in the death of 18 people in Langa, Uitenhage, last Thursday.

The party's chief spokesman on law and order, Mr Don Mateman, said in a statement yesterday: "The Labour Party reiterates its total condemnation of all forms of violence, from whatever source."

In view of conflicting reports about last Thursday's events, the party hoped the true course of events and also blameworthiness would emerge from the judicial commission of inquiry appointed to investigate.

"Violence is suicidal"

"We particularly wish to state that violence as a political strategy is completely non-viable and in a sense suicidal," Mr Mateman said. "We especially regret the use of innocent men, women and children as cannon-fodder in a situation of violence and counter-violence."

"We call upon the South African Police to exercise the utmost restraint but also to acknowledge that they have a duty to protect life and property."

Mr Mateman also called on the people of Langa and Kwanobuhle, Uitenhage, to come forward to air their grievances in order to avoid further bloodshed.

The Labour Party expressed its sympathy with the relatives of those who have died in the past week.

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

LP repeats call on Le Grange to resign

THE leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, yesterday reaffirmed that his party stood by its earlier call for the resignation of his Cabinet colleague, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange.

The LP leader also indicated during an interview that he was concerned about the LP being seen as a coalition partner of the government and would seek a meeting with President P W Botha today to clarify the whole issue of joint Cabinet responsibility.

The LP stand could spark the first major crisis for the uneasy multi-party government coalition under the new tricameral system and is

likely to raise a storm when the Cabinet holds its weekly meeting today.

Mr Le Grange is known to be furious about the weekend call by the LP and the government's junior coalition partner, National People's Party, for him to step down.

On Monday NPP leader Mr Amichand Rajbansi moved to defuse the looming showdown between his party and the government by retracting the earlier call for Mr Le Grange's resignation made by NPP justice spokesman, Mr Ranji Nowbath.

However, Mr Hendrickse said yesterday that his party was not prepared to "water down" in

any way the call made at the weekend by the LP spokesman on justice, Mr Peter Mopp, which noted that "ministerial responsibility demands that Mr Louis le Grange must go".

The Mopp statement, he said, was accepted by the LP caucus without a dissenting vote and "still stands without qualification".

The statement said: "His mishandling of the Eastern Cape situation, among others, which was described by Ambassador Worrall as completely unjustified, raises the question of whether the minister is competent to continue in his post.

"Shooting and killing

of people does not resolve problems. The party repeats its earlier call that immediate attention be given to the underlying cause of the unrest.

"Blacks are South Africans and are entitled to all the rights and obligations of fellow South Africans, and the minister must realize this.

"The judicial inquiry should also investigate whether he is competent to continue in his post."

Mr Hendrickse yesterday stressed that he wished to refute reports that his party had since the weekend "backed down" on calls for Mr Le Grange's resignation.

When Mr Hendrickse was asked if his party was

experiencing difficulties over its dual role of being partner of the government on the one hand and diametrically opposed to some of its policies on the other, he replied in the affirmative.

Sapa reports that Mr Hendrickse yesterday expressed sympathy on behalf of the House to the bereaved families in the Eastern Cape.

He welcomed appointment of the one-man commission but suggested that the State President appoint two assessors from the "African community" to sit on the bench with Mr Justice Kannemeyer.

"It is not that we lack respect for the bench, but

it is necessary for representation of people who speak the people's language and understand their customs to be on it."

Mr Hendrickse said he was dismayed at the continued effect of the events. He said a group of coloured schoolboys were attacked by blacks at an athletics meeting at the weekend.

Abdul Pandey was hacked to death with an axe and Ludwig Salie, a Standard Nine pupil, died last night. Three others were in hospital.

"There is now a concerted effort to burn policemen's houses. There is also an attempt by the Africans to move into the

coloured township Rose-dale."

Mr Arthur Booyen, leader of the Freedom Party, said he fully supported Mr Hendrickse.

"There are people in South Africa who do not want to see peace and are using every opportunity to create a revolutionary climate — and doing so at the expense of people already suffering."

The leader of the opposition Democratic Worker's Party, Mr Dennis de la Cruz, associated himself and his party with Mr Hendrickse's statements.

His party could not condone methods used by the law enforcers, but also could not condone "exploitation of people there" (Uitenhage).

"We share his expression of concern ... today we again speak as a united House." — Sapa



The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, in Uitenhage.

CAPE TOWN 27/3/85 (11A) [Handwritten scribble]

Boesak — martyr at cost of black masses'

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. — Dr Allan Boesak, the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and United Democratic Front patron, was turning himself into a hero and a martyr at the cost of the black masses of South Africa, Mr John Douw, a nominated Labour Party member, said yesterday.

Dr Boesak was arrested by police in Cape Town yesterday afternoon during a protest action following the Uitenhage shootings last week.

Speaking in the second-reading debate on the House's own-affairs budget, Mr Douw said yesterday's events would make world headlines.

"It is a great pity that our spiritual leaders have to be in the forefront of those who want to make a poor advertisement for South Africa.

"I do not expect them to fan the flames of racial hatred in the country."

● Mr Richards (LP Toekomsrus) said the era of slogan politics had come to an end. Slogan shouters were responsible to no-one but themselves while the era of negotiation politics was the way in which South Africans were going to find solutions.

He said he had also spent 61 days in detention as a Sections 22 and 10 detainee but he wanted to encourage people to become part of the solution.

"Within us we also hold the destruction of South Africa. I cannot encourage this sort of nonsense to continue.

"I share the concern of this House when people march to Parliament to present a protest. But we must look at their motive." — Sapa

Prayers for PAC six shot in Lesotho

JOHANNESBURG — A prayer service to commemorate the death of the six members of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) who were killed during a gun battle with the Lesotho security forces last week has been planned here.

The service is a joint effort by the African Allied Workers Union (AAWU) and the Azanian National Youth Unity (AZANYU). It is planned to go ahead despite the bannings of all such meetings by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis de Grange.

The service is to take

place at Khotso House at 1 pm today.

Among the PAC cadres killed at Qacha's Neck last week was the acting representative of the PAC in Lesotho, Mr Thami Zani, a final year LLB student at the National University of Lesotho.

Mr Zani was a close associate of the late black consciousness leader, Mr Steve Biko, who died in police detention in 1977.

Other PAC members killed were Mr Freddie Mokhehi of Soweto, Mr Siyabulela Thwabu of Bizana in Transkei, Mr

Nkululeko Msimango of Soweto, Miss Boniswa Ngcukana and Mr Kuki Barnabas, both from East London.

A statement by AZANYU and AAWU said the deaths would "haunt Leabua Jonathan's government for many years to come. The hands of the Lesotho paramilitary force will remain stained forever."

The two organisations are also planning to write a letter of protest to the Lesotho trade mission.

The six are to be buried in Maseru on Saturday.

● Meanwhile, a three-man delegation from the PAC headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam, who arrived in Maseru yesterday, have started talks with government officials regarding the deaths.

They are investigating the circumstances surrounding the killings.

The Lesotho Government said earlier that the PAC group had been armed and had fired the first shots against security forces. — DDC.

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ANC behind countrywide unrest ~~Nel~~ ^{11A}

PRETORIA — The Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Louis Nel, today told a group of foreign diplomats that the African National Congress was behind the recent months of township rioting, which he said had been aimed primarily against moderate blacks.

Mr Nel said in Pretoria that although the Government was committed to the expansion of democracy among blacks, any potentially successful democratic structures were being thwarted by the rioters and their inciters.

Mr Nel said: "There is incontrovert-

ible evidence of an orchestrated attempt by forces from beyond our borders, joined by radical elements inside the country, to politicise certain target groups for their own purposes. The ANC is behind this."

Mr Nel told the more than 50 diplomats and overseas journalists gathered at the Union Buildings that the aim of the rioters was to make the country ungovernable and to bring about a revolutionary situation.

Last night Mr Nel, said on US television that township unrest was not a

black-white conflict, but "a confrontation between radical black people and moderate black people".

Appearing on the same programme, the ABC network's *Nightline*, Dr Chester Crocker, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, said violence in South Africa stemmed from "genuine grievances . . . in the black townships".

But he reiterated the Administration's policy of supporting the South African Government as it embarked on a series of gradual political reforms.

"It is very much our view that the

Government is committed to a process of reform," Dr Crocker said.

He added: "There's a wide array of black leadership in South Africa if only the Government would open up channels and get into a serious dialogue and negotiation about some of the reform measures that it is now publicly committed to."

Mr Nel, on camera from Johannesburg, said: "Some blacks in this country do not want peaceful reform — many other millions do." — Sapa-Reuter

Shot
fired at
Sacos
man's
home

Post Reporter

LAST night a bullet was fired through the lounge window of the Gelvandale home of Mr Alan Zinn, national publicity secretary of the South African Council of Sport (Sacos).

Mr Zinn said he received an anonymous phone call at about 8.30pm asking if he was in. He then went out with his family.

When they returned at around midnight, they discovered that a bullet, fired through the lounge window, had gone through a couch and penetrated a wall.

Mr Zinn said he reported the matter to the South African Police, who were investigating.

He added that last night the home of Mr Tennyson Mackay, president of the South African Primary Schools Sports Association, was hit by stones.

Mr Zinn said the homes of Mr Raymond Uren, president of the Eastern Province Council of Sport (Epcos), and that of Mrs June Udemans, secretary of the Gelvandale Civic Association, had also been hit by stones.

Mr Zinn said the attacks were part of an "organised attack on Sacos people and people who are serving on a newly-formed teachers association".

11A

PAC dead to get heroes' burials

SIX Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) cadres killed during a gunfire exchange with members of the Lesotho security forces about two weeks ago will be given a heroes' funeral at Lesotho's capital, Maseru, on Saturday.

It was confirmed yesterday by sources close to the PAC in Maseru. The sources also said PAC officials were presently negotiating with the government of Lesotho to finalise funeral arrangements.

Preliminary arrangements made so far are that a service will start at 10 am at the Fraser's

Memorial Hall where senior PAC officials from Harare, Zimbabwe, together with other exiled South Africans will speak.

Travelling

A funeral procession will leave for the cemetery at 2 pm. The six cadres, who included a prominent Black Consciousness adherent, Mr Thami Zani, who was also acting representative of the PAC in Lesotho were killed on Sunday March 10.

The six are believed to have been travelling

in a panelvan loaded with explosives when they were stopped at a road block by Lesotho's security forces near Qacha's Nek, on the south-eastern part of Lesotho.

The other five cadres killed in the shootout are Mr Nkululeko Masemola of Mamelodi, Pretoria, Mr Ntsikelelo Barnabas of East London, Mr Rex Mkhethi of Lady Frere in Transkei, Mr Siyabulela

Twabe of Bizana in Transkei and Miss Boniswa Ngcukana, the only woman in the group. She is from Kentane in Transkei.

Mr Petrus Masemola and Miss Nonkululeko Masemola, brother and sister to Mr Nkululeko Masemola, left Pretoria for Maseru on Tuesday after receiving a telegram from Maseru informing them of their brother's death.



RELATIVES: Mr Petros and Ms Nonkululeko Masemola at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday.

Merry 28/3/85 (11A) (2)

Chief in call for Mandela release without conditions

African Affairs Correspondent

ULUNDI—The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has appealed to the South African Government to release Nelson Mandela, jailed leader of the banned African National Congress, without any conditions.

In his policy speech in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday, he said it was a pity the State President had not released Mandela earlier this year.

It would have been a statesmanlike step towards normalising politics in South Africa, he said.

He certainly would not be party to any attempts to prescribe what Mandela should or should not do as a condition of his release, the Chief Minister said.

Chief Buthelezi said he 'yearned' for the freedom of Nelson Mandela and those who were incarcerated with him.

Strength

He did not feel threatened by Mandela who was an 'ordinary person' and his 'brother'.

'Inkatha's strength will grow in normalised politics and the life-long bond I have with Nelson Mandela will not leave me shaking in my boots,' Chief Buthelezi said.

He said he had great respect for what Mr Botha had done in going much further than any of his predecessors in removing some of the utterly impossible conditions on Mandela. One of these had been that he had to agree to go to Transkei.

Tragedy

Chief Buthelezi said members of the ANC in exile ought to come to terms with reality.

In the post-Nkomati Accord era, there were no prospects of the ANC establishing springboards for military attacks from neighbouring states. Logistics militated against a successful armed struggle

inside South Africa.

'We sincerely hope that they will find their way back from the distant places in which they have located themselves,' he said.

It would be a tragedy if the 'brothers and sisters in exile' could not return to South Africa to play a

meaningful role in the struggle to liberate the country and in the task of reconstructing society.

Chief Buthelezi said the Inkatha central committee had recognised that the diversity of black political views could not be expressed in any one liberation movement.

Members to decide on cuts to their wages

African Affairs Correspondent

ULUNDI—One hundred and forty-one members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly are to be asked to decide the extent to which they will accept salary cuts.

This was announced yesterday by the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Speaking in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Chief Buthelezi said he hoped members would respond positively to his appeal.

He said he and his Cabinet colleagues had already accepted a cut of 36 percent in their income by foregoing the increase due to them in October last year.

But, he emphasised, he realised salaries of members of the assembly were very meagre, compared with those of other race groups.

Chief Buthelezi said KwaZulu was hoping to achieve an 8 percent cut in staff salaries as a tem-

porary measure.

Vacant posts in the civil service were not being filled and junior staff were doing more senior staff work without being rewarded at senior staff levels.

'We hope that our civil servants will accept a cut in this year's 13th cheque. We will do our best to regard this as a temporary measure and reimburse civil servants for the losses they will suffer this year whenever economic circumstances permit.'

REFUGS 28/3/85 (11/11)

Coloured House endorses P W's appeal, launches bitter attack on Boesak

Parliamentary Staff

PRESIDENT P W Botha's appeal to Parliament to refrain from discussing the Uitenhage shootings has been supported and heeded in the House of Representatives.

But scathing attacks on Dr Allan Boesak, leader of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, and others who had protested against the police action continued during yesterday's resumed debate on the "own affairs" budget.

Support for Mr Botha's plea was expressed by speakers of both the ruling Labour Party and the opposition when the House resumed its proceedings after a special joint sitting of the three Houses where the President spoke on the security situation.

Mr John Douw (Labour, nominated) said: "One cannot do anything but endorse the State President's speech and ask the Almighty to release the country from its dilemma."

"OPEN THEIR HEARTS"

Mr Douw said President Botha's heart "beats warmly for South Africa" and added an appeal to members of the National Party and the Conservative Party in the Assembly to "open their hearts to all the people of South Africa".

The Leader of the Opposition, Mr Dennis de la Cruz (Democratic Workers' Party, Ottery), said he associated himself with President Botha's remarks about reform, justice and peace in South Africa.

Mr Godfrey Leeuw (Labour Party, Southern Free State) accused "so-called liberators of South Africa" of seeking fame for themselves by exploiting situations of violence.

In an attack on Dr Allan Boesak, Mr Leeuw said: "The Ten Commandments were not written for the Boesaks of this world."

Boesak: we want removal of PW and his government

(IIA) Staw 28/3/85

CAPE TOWN — Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, called for the "removal of the State President and his government" at a mass meeting in Cape Town last night.

The rally, organised by the United Democratic Front in protest against the deaths in Uitenhage, was attended by about 600 people. They packed the Hanover Park Civic Centre hall, sitting and standing on the floor, the stage, in aisles.

Members of the crowd clapped and shouted "Boesak, Boesak, Boesak," for about three minutes when Dr Boesak began his address.

"The State President spoke in Parliament this afternoon and said there is this situation in the country, and innocent women and children have been among the victims. 'This does not surprise me,' he says, 'it saddens me.'

"I want to say to the State President that we are just a little bit tired and fed up with sanctimonious trivialities that mean nothing.

"And this happens every time. Mr le Grange's (the Minister of Law and Order) police shoot down people in the streets, and he says 'I express my condolences to the people.'

"We don't want their condolences. We don't want to hear the State President is sad innocent people have died.

"We want the State President to remove these laws from the statute books. We want the State President to remove himself and his government.

"Right through his speech, he says over and over again 'I have committed myself to orderly reform. I have committed myself to maintain law and order. I have committed myself . . .'

"He never once says he has committed himself to justice and peace, because he does not know what it means," Dr Boesak said.

"You simply cannot continue to talk about maintaining law and order. What law and order?"

"What they are talking about are the politics of self-justification, and in the politics of self-justification there is no room for criticism. There is no possibility for change," he said.

"In this kind of law and order the State President is talking about, it is all right to spread disinformation, to create fictional things, just in order to mislead the people — so we hear.

"Is it all right to bypass the rule of law and then to talk about it glibly as if it exists in South Africa?"

A day of mourning for dead

CAPE TOWN 28/3/85

Staff Reporter

THE United Democratic Front has declared today a national day of mourning for those who died last week when police opened fire on mourners on their way to a funeral service in Uitenhage.

Students at the University of the Western Cape will hold a commemoration service on the campus today for those who died in the unrest in Langa, and a 24-hour vigil in sympathy with the bereaved of Uitenhage starts in St George's Cathedral today.

A statement issued yesterday by the UDF national publicity secretary, Mr Terror Lekota, said peace-loving people throughout the world had been filled with shock and anger as "the true facts of the Uitenhage massacre emerged".

Protest over the incident was growing.

Activities

The statement called on all peace-loving South Africans to observe the day of mourning in an appropriate manner.

UDF affiliates across the country would be holding activities to mark the day.

The arrests of 264 people marching to Parliament on Tuesday and the treason trial of UDF and trade union leaders due to start tomorrow showed that "even the few possibilities for legal oppositional protest are being removed", said the statement.

Mr Russell McGregor, general secretary of the UWC SRC, told Sapa a UWC commemoration service, which begins at 9am today, would be addressed by Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Imam Solomons, and the Rev Colin Jones, the Angli-

can chaplain at UWC.

At a mass meeting on Tuesday the SRC called on all students to adhere to a call from the UDF to see this week as a week of mourning for those who died in the Eastern Cape. They were called on to boycott classes for the rest of the week.

The UWC term ends tomorrow. Students began a stayaway on Tuesday.

After another mass meeting attended by about 3 500 students yesterday, about 2 500 students marched peacefully from the main hall to the main gate, where they had a placard demonstration for about an hour, Mr McGregor said.

He said the SRC abhorred the actions of the police in Uitenhage and of police and the South African Defence Force in other areas of the country.

Students would not be deterred "from taking whatever action we find necessary to show our anger and our willingness to see that justice and freedom prevails in South Africa," he said.

Vigil

Mrs Daphne Wilson, chairman of the Mowbray Inter-Race Group, said yesterday that the vigil in St George's Cathedral Hall would begin after an ecumenical service starting at 5pm.

"The public are earnestly requested to support the service and the vigil and to sign a short declaration at the Cathedral door to indicate their support."

● The Western Cape Traders' Association (WCTA) representing 2 000 traders in the Western Cape has condemned the Uitenhage shootings and has called on its members to close their businesses from 1pm to 3pm today in solidarity with those who died.

D. Dispatch 28/3/85

Gatsha appeals for release of Mandela

Botha
11A

ULUNDI — The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has appealed to the South African Government to release without conditions, Mr Nelson Mandela, the jailed leader of the banned African National Congress.

In his policy speech in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday, Chief Buthelezi said it was a pity the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, had not released Mr Mandela earlier this year.

It would have been a statesmanlike step towards normalising politics in South Africa, he said.

He certainly would not be party to any attempts to prescribe what Mr Mandela should or should not do as a condition of his release, the Chief Minister said.

Chief Buthelezi said he "yearned" for the freedom of Nelson Mandela and those who were incarcerated with him.

He said he had great respect for what Mr Botha had done in going much further than any of his predecessors in removing some of the utterly impossible conditions on Mr Mandela. One of these had been that he had to agree to go to Transkei.

Chief Buthelezi said members of the African

National Congress in exile ought to come to terms with reality.

In the post-Nkomati Accord era, there were no prospects of the ANC establishing springboards for military attacks from neighbouring states. Logistics militated against a successful armed struggle inside South Africa.

"We sincerely hope that they will find their way back from the distant places in which they have located themselves," he said.

It would be a tragedy if the "brothers and sisters in exile" could not return to South Africa to play a meaningful role in the struggle to liberate the country.— DDC.



The audience at last night's UDF meeting at Hanover Park totalled more than 1 000 — some of them wearing black armbands.

'Little has changed since Sharpeville'

Staff Reporter

DR ALLAN BOESAK has condemned the Government for its actions in the recent unrest in Uitenhage and said that little had changed since Sharpeville.

At a United Democratic Front rally in Hanover Park last night attended by about 1 500 people — some wearing black armbands — Dr Boesak said that President P W Botha had to take responsibility for all that had happened in the recent unrest.

Dr Boesak said that what he had seen at Uitenhage was "shocking" and "horrific".

He said the purpose of the meeting was for the UDF to take part in an act of mourning for the death of "so many of our people" in Uitenhage last week.

"It was important that we marched towards Parliament yesterday to express our feelings.

"Tremendous victory"

"I believe the march was a tremendous victory for the forces of justice and freedom in this country. The Government did not know what to do because they do not understand the language of peace."

Dr Boesak said he did not want to challenge the Government, but if it was necessary the UDF would do it again.

He said that little had changed in South Africa since the Sharpeville riots 25 years ago.

Commenting on the "no crisis" statement by Minister of Law and Order Mr Louis le Grange on the unrest at Uitenhage, Dr Boesak said the problem was that South Africa had a Government which has never been to school.

Horror and disgust

"If there is no crisis, what were the police and SADF doing in Uitenhage? If there is no crisis, why is the world looking down on South Africa in horror and disgust?"

"You can't simply continue to talk about maintaining law and order."

"Freedom is the presupposition of order. It is not the other way round. Order is based on the existence and the respect for freedom."

● Police arrived at the Hanover Park hall in vans midway through the meeting, but remained some distance away.

Ron Quibell acquitted on two charges

Staff Reporter

THE director of the Three Arts Theatre could not be held responsible for the entry of people into the theatre when he was away, a Wynberg court found in acquitting him under the 90-year-old Lord's Day Observance Act.

Mr Ronald Stanley Quibell, 61, previously pleaded not guilty to two charges of contravening the 1895 Act by holding performances on a Sunday, alternatively charging admission for the performances.

The magistrate, Mr W B Monk, said it seemed that the law was no longer enforced, but until it was repealed by another statute it remained effective.

NO REWARD

Mr Monk said it was clear that Mr Quibell had received no advantage or reward for allowing the performances for charity, but had done so out of a "mere gesture of goodwill".

It was obvious from the evidence of a cashier who had worked at the theatre for 17 years that she was "very loyal and knows which side her bread is buttered".

At first the cashier had said that one could not enter the theatre without a ticket. When later recalled at the request of the defence, she had said that boards with the words "Admission free, reservation of seats guaranteed" had been displayed. She had then said it was possible to enter without a ticket.

OVERSEAS

Mr Monk said it was strange that the investigating officer, who attended the show on a case, did not notice these boards.

"It is clear that Mr Quibell knew that no-one could enter without a ticket, and that he never gave instructions to those concerned to allow people to enter without tickets.

"However, as he was overseas and in Johan-

ARGUS 28/3/85 11A

Letter 28/3/85 (307) (312) (335) (11A)

Govt must talk - Boya

THE vice-president of the Urban Council Association of South Africa, Mr Tom Boya, has called on the Government to talk to black leaders in a bid to solve the country's problems and avoid the spilling of blood.

Mr Boya, who is also the chairman of the East Rand Urban Council Association (Eruca) and the mayor of Daveyton, near Benoni was interviewed by The SOWETAN yesterday following last week's unrest in the Eastern Cape which claimed 19 lives.

Mr Boya also welcomed the Government's decision to set up a commission of inquiry into the violence in Uitenhage last Thursday.

Supreme Court judge, Mr Justice Donald D Kannemeyer has been appointed chairman of the one-man commission.

"The shooting and killing of blacks by the police will not solve the problems of South Africa. The fighting and killing of blacks against blacks will also not solve the problems of South Africa. The only solution is for the Government to talk to leaders of organisations like the ANC, Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), Azania People's Organisation (Azapo), United Democratic Front (UDF) and the local authorities," Mr Boya said.

Blacks in this country, Mr Boya said, are demanding equal rights, full citizenship for all the people of South Africa, and equal participation of all in the central government including political rights.

He said: "To avoid further bloodshed, the Government must give the people what they want and stop ruling by force. The time is long overdue for the Government to give blacks their rights and to start talking to black leaders."

Inquiry

Mr Boya said he was hoping the commission of inquiry will come out with the truth of what

By M ZIKAYISE EDOM

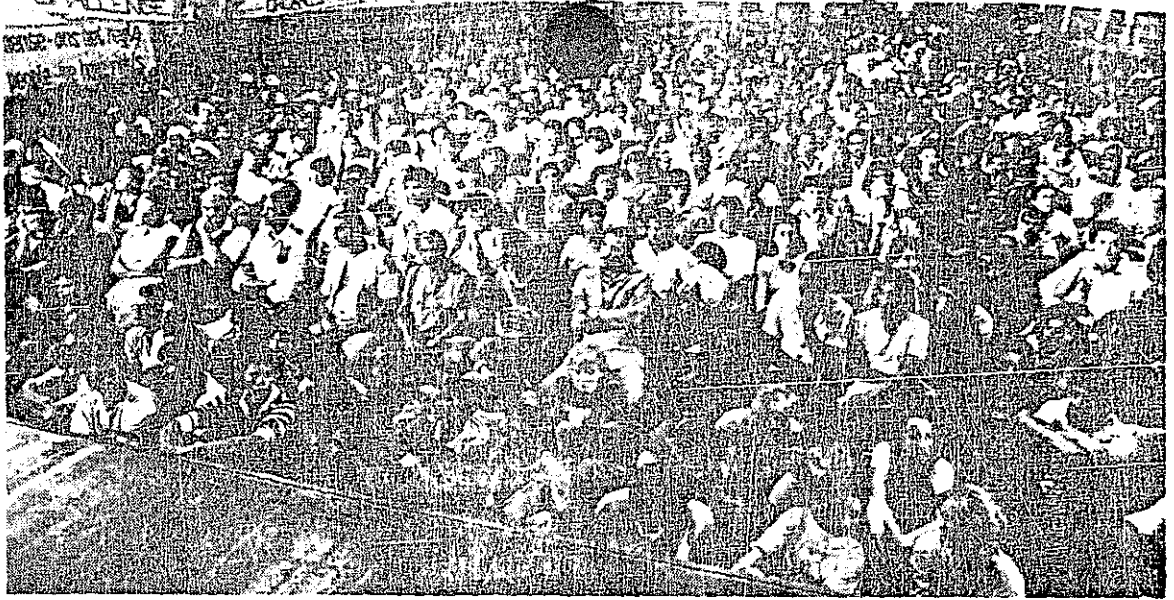
happened and caused the police to shoot the people who were marching in Uitenhage last Thursday.

He also expressed condolence to families of all victims of unrest in the Eastern Cape and also in Ekangala in the Eastern Transvaal.



CHEERS: Mr Eric "Rool" Khathi of Evaton got married to pretty Miss Monica Moshugi of Sharpeville last weekend. Hundreds of guests attended the reception in Sharpeville on Saturday night — and what a jolly good time they had! The couple is now in Magaliesburg on honeymoon.

Enjoy the summertime sparkle



The audience at last night's UDF meeting at Hanover Park totalled more than 1 000 — some of them wearing black armbands.

'Little has changed since Sharpeville'

ARGUS 28/3/85 (117)
275

Staff Reporter

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"It was important that we marched towards Parliament yesterday to express our feelings.

"Tremendous victory"

"I believe the march was a tremendous victory for the forces of justice and freedom in this country. The Government did not know what to do because they do not understand the language of peace."

Dr Boesak said he did not want to challenge the Government, but if it was necessary the UDF would do it again.

He said that little had changed in South Africa since the Sharpeville riots 25 years ago.

Commenting on the "no crisis" statement by Minister of Law and Order Mr Louis le Grange on the unrest at Uitenhage, Dr Boesak said the problem was that South Africa had a Government which has never been to school.

Horror and disgust

"If there is no crisis, what were the police and SADF doing in Uitenhage? If there is no crisis, why is the world looking down on South Africa in horror and disgust?"

"You can't simply continue to talk about maintaining law and order."

"Freedom is the presupposition of order, and the other way round. Order is not the end and the resort."

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OVERSEAS

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"It is clear that Mr Quibell knew that no-one could enter without a ticket, and that he never intended to allow anyone to enter without a ticket."

'WE'LL DO IT ALL AGAIN'

By MONO BADELA

THE STRENGTH of workers and the buying power of black people was clearly demonstrated by the success of the three-day "Black Long Weekend" which ended in Port Elizabeth on Tuesday, according to the organisers of the stay-away.

Thousands of workers heeded a call by the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation and the PE Women's Organisation to stay at home last weekend in protest against increased bus fares and consumer pro-

duct prices.

Pebco president Qaqawuli Godolozzi told City Press that the united action of the residents was an "eye-opener" and that Pebco wouldn't hesitate to call for further action in future if circumstances warranted it.

He estimated that at least 99 percent of PE's workers stayed away from work on Monday.

Most people opted to stay indoors although police vans using loud-hailers urged workers to return to work.

The protest action was the most successful display of widespread action Port Elizabeth has seen for many years - township streets were deserted on Monday.

*** "THEY ARE trying to assassinate Pebco's leadership,"** Pebco secretary general Siphon Hashe told City Press after his Kwazakhele home was rocked by four petrol bombs hours after the stay-away ended on Monday night.

Mr Hashe, who spent 10 years on Robben Island for ANC activities, said he would not be intimidated by such violent acts and would continue his "fight against oppression".

Four petrol bombs were hurled at Mr Hashe's house at 1.45am on Tuesday. His four-year-old son Tamsanqa escaped death because his father took him to the main bedroom.

Damage is estimated at R10 000. Mr Hashe was left with only a pair of trousers, shoes and a shirt.

Fifteen minutes later the home of another Pebco executive member, Ernest Malgas of Red Location, was hit by a petrol bomb.

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Boesak: Botha must resign

Political Reporter

DR ALLAN BOESAK last night called for the resignation of the State President and termed Mr P W Botha's condolences with those who died at Uitenhage, as "sanctimonious trivialities".

He was speaking at a UDF meeting at the Hanover Park Civic Centre attended by about 2 000 people to mourn those who died in Uitenhage last week.

Responding to Mr Botha's urgent address to Parliament yesterday afternoon, Dr Boesak said the governments' appeal to maintain law and order was to further the "politics of self-justification", which had no room for change and criticism.

He said that "freedom is a pre-supposition of order, order is based on the existence and respect of freedom, and justice is the foundation of the law."

He described the shootings in Uitenhage as "shocking" and demanded that an independent pathologist conduct the post mortems on the victims.

Dr Boesak claimed that 46 people had died in Uitenhage and about 100 people were missing.

Responding to Mr Botha's accusation that religious leaders were causing the death of innocent people, he said: "Who carried the guns yesterday and threatened us with dogs and teargas at the march?"

Other speakers at the meeting included Imam Hassan Solomons, a UDF Western Cape Executive member, and Mr Fezi Kobesi, a resident of Langa township in Uitenhage.

Mr Kobesi described to the meeting police action in Uitenhage.

Imam Hassan Solomons said that during the past month the world had witnessed no limit to police brutality and violence.

"Those who joined the system — Hendrickse, Rajbansi and Reddy — their hands are stained with the blood of the oppressed of this land," he said.

● A day of mourning for dead, page 17



Dr Allan Boesak and Mr Wilfred Rhodes, Western Cape Vice President of the UDF, at the meeting at Hanover Park yesterday.

**Tutu warns:
Uitenhage
burnings
harm race
struggle**

Church worker challenges C

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Christians should picket church services and clergy and even interrupt services if necessary in active witness to fundamental biblical truths, church worker Mrs Margaret Nash said yesterday. She told an inter-faith gathering at the University of Cape

Town that South Africans had to take up more vigorously the cause of justice and freedom for all inhabitants of a non-racial, democratic South Africa.

The gathering was organised by the Students' Representative Council in response to the United Democratic Front's call that yesterday be a day of mourning

for those who died during police action in Uitenhage.

Speakers represented the Protestant, Catholic, Jewish and Islamic faiths.

The deaths of those in Uitenhage and the near-blasphemous statements of the State President claiming his was a Christian government, justifying the

Nobel Peace Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu warned yesterday that the burning of people in Uitenhage in the wake of violence in townships there last week could discredit the anti-apartheid struggle.

He added that he understood the people had acted in anger.

The bishop was speaking in Johannesburg at a commemoration service called by the United Democratic Front (UDF).

Pointing out that influx control and pass laws were still in force 25 years after the Sharpeville shootings, he said black people had tolerated "nonsense" for too long.

STRUGGLE

"But we cannot accept that our struggle is assisted by the burning of people. Our cause is too good to be supported by methods which we will not be able to live with."

Bishop Tutu criticised President Ronald Reagan for his remarks on the Uitenhage shootings, saying: "His statement is scandalous. I hope he is thoroughly ashamed of what he said."

Police in cars, vans and a modified bus were parked outside Khotso House, where the meeting was held. They took photographs of people leaving the building.



Dr Andries Treurnicht gives Mr Harry Oppenheimer a verbal lashing.

CP: Oppenhe

By Gavin Engelbrecht

The liberalism contemplated by people like Mr Harry Oppenheimer amounted to "peaceful genocide", the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said in Johannesburg last night.

"That is, the death of a race by trying to drown it in a sea of non-racialism," he said.

Hitting out at Mr Oppenheimer for referring to the CP as the lunatic fringe of South Africa, Dr Treurnicht said liberals were the enemies of the white man's continued existence.

Speaking exclusively in English at a protest meeting in the city hall, Dr Treurnicht told about 600 supporters that Mr Oppenheimer could not dismiss the CP as a lunatic fringe because it was the "protector and custodian of justice for our people".

"If you regard the white man's claim to govern himself as an obstacle to your money empire, we regard it as something which cannot be negotiated," he said, adding that Mr Oppenheimer was a "very rich man but a poor politician".

Referring to the Uitenhage shootings, Dr Treurnicht rejected a call for Mr Louis le Grange's resignation. He said he was still waiting for the PFP to come out in defence of the police's role to maintain law and order.

"The police cannot always be wrong," he said.

Dr Treurnicht also questioned the political role of ministers of religion such as Bishop Desmond Tutu, the Rev Beyers Naude and the Rev Allan Boesak.

"There is nothing wrong in proclaiming Biblical demands for justice for all individuals, but as a fellow Christian I want to tell you that you have no right to preach civil disobedience the way you are doing it," he said.

Dr Treurnicht urged the the church leaders to take a hard and critical view of their "demonstrations and protest church services with political Gospels".

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Christians to take action on Bible truths

shootings, challenged us all, said Mrs Nash, a Protestant.

A Government commission of inquiry had found in 1981 that conditions in the Eastern Cape's 75 townships were so bad they were causing violence and strikes, she said. But a proposed R542-million housing and development plan had not been implemented and with the re-

cession, conditions had worsened.

"Every effort by the people to organise democratic organisations and make their grievances known peacefully has been undermined through bannings, detentions, assaults, harassment and assassination."

All this evil was done in the name of God and it challenged

Christians to make a stand in the wider community and in the Church, she said.

She called on Christians to picket services and clergy, to speak in church with or without permission or even interrupt the service.

"For if we are silent shall we not be as guilty as those who nailed to the cross the Christ we

profess as saviour and Lord?" she asked.

Other speakers were Imam Hassan Solomons, executive member of the Muslim Judicial Council; Father Smangaliso Mkhathwa, secretary of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference; and Mr Denis Davis, a Jew and senior lecturer in law at UCT.

Immer wants 'peaceful genocide'



Supporters attending last night's protest meeting in the Johannesburg City Hall.

Post Reporters

THE Government's decision to ban meetings of 29 organisations in a number of districts, including 16 in the Eastern Cape, until June 30 was widely criticised today.

In Cape Town, the Leader of the Opposition, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, said banning meetings would not silence political debate.

"It can, however, turn verbal debate into a debate with sticks and stones," he warned.

The bannings indicated the gulf between the Government's actions and intentions.

"It is a curious paradox for the State President to talk about negotiation and a more open debate about reform while Minister Le Grange silences many of those with whom the negotiations and the debate must take place," Dr Slabbert said.

"It was dangerous to create the impression in the white electorate that the almost endemic unrest was "merely acts of mindless violence or the work of Communist-inspired instigators".

Banning 'not the answer'

The unrest was a sign that strong-arm responses no longer secured even temporary peace.

"You cannot, by banning meetings, stop agitators from affecting those with legitimate grievances. In this way they are simply given credibility. The only way to silence agitation is through effective reform."

A senior member of the PFP's law and order group, Mr Tian van der Merwe (MP for Green Point), said today Mr Le

Grange would be responsible for any adverse results flowing from the move.

"It was the banning of a funeral gathering at Uitenhage which led to

the violence there.

"Mr Le Grange is now applying the same recipe, only it is now the bannings of meetings of a whole string of organisations," Mr Van der Merwe said.

The reaction of the South African Council of Churches was that the ban could only lead to further tension.

In a press release to Sapa, Dr Beyers Naude, general secretary of the SACC, said:

"It is clear that this is an act of desperation on the part of the Government to stem the tide of liberation.

"It effectively amounts to the banning of impor-

tant organisations like the UDF which have been reflecting very clearly the grievances and aspirations of the black community.

"We believe that this act can only lead to further tension and polarisation because it does not address itself to the real problems or the solution."

● The Eastern Cape branch of the United Democratic Front and the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation reacted strongly today.

Mr H Fazzie, vice-president of the UDF branch and a former Robben Island prisoner, said it was clear the Government was feeling the pressure of the people op-

posed to apartheid.

"Banning of meetings will not help to solve the current situation or stop people from demanding their political and civic rights. Bannings are only time-wasting," he said.

Mr Qaqawuli Godolosi, president of Pebco, said his organisation condemned the ban.

"The ban will now only worsen the situation since we will not be able to control the young people," he said.

The president of the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress (Peyco), Mr Jack Mkhusele, said the banning order would "actively provoke the situation".

2AM 29/3/85 (11A)

International support for UDF treason trialists

London Bureau

LONDON. — With 16 members of the United Democratic Front (UDF) due to appear in a Durban court on treason charges today, a UDF Treason Trial Campaign Committee has been set up in London.

The campaign, which is calling for the release of the 16 accused, has a wide range of political support in Britain with members from both leftwing and rightwing groups.

Chairman of the group is a leading London solicitor, Mr Geoffrey Bindman. Also on the committee are Lord Ennals, chairman of the United Nations Association and a former Cabinet Minister, and an MP Mr Donald Anderson, Opposition spokesman on Southern Africa.

The committee has urged the British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher, who met State President P W Botha during his triumphal European tour last year, to meet now the president of the African National Congress.

In a letter of thanks and support from the UDF in South Africa, the publicity secretary Mr Mosiwe Lekota comments: "The

struggle for peace and justice is not an act of treason."

● The Irish government is to make a donation of more than R33 000 towards the legal costs of black and other opponents of apartheid who are facing trial in South Africa on charges of high treason.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Peter Barry, revealed this in the Senate in Dublin during an angry and emotional debate on the recent arrests and killings, in which one speaker described the South African government as "the most odious regime since the Nazis".

A motion supported by all parties expressed shock "at the vicious clampdown" on the leaders of the United Democratic Front, called for the release of all political prisoners without condition and condemned the shooting of black demonstrators by the police.

Mr Barry, who described the killings as an "outrage", said the Irish government supported the imposition by the United Nations Security Council of effective, mandatory sanctions against South Africa.



Mr Geoffrey Bindman, chairman of a new group set up in London to support the UDF treason trialists, speaks at a Press conference in Westminster Hall yesterday.

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11A

Irish to give R33 000 to blacks in S A treason trials

London Bureau

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Mr Barry, who described the killings as an 'outrage', said the Irish Government supported the imposition by the United Nations Security Council of what he called effective mandatory sanc-

tions against South Africa.

He proposed to make a grant of R24 000 to the International Defence and Aid fund and of R9 600 to the Asingeni-fund of the South African Council of Churches, both of which help to provide legal defences in political trials in South Africa and in South West Africa.

3-month ban on UDF meetings

11A 5 per
By David Braun, Political Correspondent 9/3/75

Cape Town

Minister of Law and Order Mr Louis le Grange today banned the indoor meetings of 29 organisations for three months in 18 magisterial districts. One is the United Democratic Front.

In a notice in the *Government Gazette* Mr le Grange — in the interests of public order — forbids any indoor meeting between today and June 30.

It is clear from the *Gazette* that this restriction applies to:

- Meetings held under the auspices of, or in association with, any of the 29 organisations named.
- Any other unauthorised meetings (held by whichever organisation) in the affected magisterial districts which encourage or incite any person to leave his employment or not to go back to work, or to get involved in go-slows or work stoppages.

The banning notice today complements an existing ban on all outdoor meetings, with the exception of sport and genuine religious gatherings.

The 18 magisterial districts are mainly in the Eastern Cape, the area worst hit by unrest and labour strikes in the past year. Some are in the Transvaal.

UDF trial date set for May 20

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The trial of the 16 United Democratic Front and trade union leaders has been set for May 20 in the Maritzburg Supreme Court.

The Deputy Attorney-General of Natal, Mr G van Pittius, today told Durban magistrate Mr T L Blunden the trial date but did not produce an indictment for the accused, who appeared in court today.

Anger and dismay was expressed by relatives and members of the public in the court, who groaned and sighed loudly.

Eight of the 16 accused have been in custody since December.

Advocate Mr Ismail Mohamed told Mr Blunden that without an indictment he could not agree to a trial date, and asked when it would be ready for the defence team to study.

Mr van Pittius said the prosecution was doing its best but could not give a date.

"It will be long before the trial date," he said.

Mr Blunden said he would enter the trial date as May 20.

● The Star Bureau in London reports that the start of the UDF trial was marked today by the delivery of a protest letter signed by 125 British MPs to the South African Embassy.

The Progressive Federal Party has slammed the banings as counter-productive. It warned that they would probably generate more unrest.

Mrs Helen Suzman said any attempt to prevent people gathering and discussing grievances was likely to result in civil disobedience. The clampdown would be counter-productive instead of resolving problems.

Action has been expected since President Botha's appeal at a joint sitting of Parliament on Wednesday for unity to resolve problems peacefully.

The districts affected are Albany, Alberton, Alexandria, Adelaide, Bathurst, Bedford, Cradock, Fort Beaufort, Graaff-Reinet, Hankey, Humansdorp, Kempton Park, Kirkwood, Middelburg (Cape), Pearston, Port Elizabeth, Somerset East and Uitenhage.

Organisations

Besides the UDF, the organisations affected are: Azanian Students' Organisation, Black Students' Movement, Cookhouse Youth Association, Congress of South African Students, Cradock Residents' Association, Cradock Women's Organisation, Cradock Youth Association, Fort Beaufort's Organ of Peace, Fort Beaufort's Youth Congress, Graaff-Reinet Community Organisation, Graaff-Reinet Youth Congress, Grahamstown Civic Association, Grahamstown Youth Congress, Grahamstown Youth Movement, Kallahong Action Committee, Middelburg Residents' Association, Middelburg Youth Congress, Port Alfred Black Civic Organisation, Port Alfred Youth Congress, Port Elizabeth Black Civic Association, Port Elizabeth Women's Organisation, Port Elizabeth Youth Congress, Somerset East Youth Association, Tembisa Civic Association, Uitenhage Black Civic Organisation, Uitenhage Health, Safety and Cultural Association, Uitenhage Women's Organisation and Uitenhage Youth Congress.

ARGUS 29/3/85

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Coloured people in rural areas 'neglected and in need' — MP

COLOURED people in rural areas were neglected and in critical need of care, Mr Petrus Meyer (LP Vredendal) said in the second reading debate on the Own Affairs Budget of the House of Representatives today.

He said rural people suffered the most oppressive poverty because apartheid was applied to the worst degree in country areas. He appealed to the Minister of the Budget to give coloured people in rural areas more attention.

Scholars should be given technical training. Many matriculants in the rural areas were unable to get jobs and ended up working in kitchens.

Lack of a domestic water supply in some areas in his constituency caused many children to die of gastro-enteritis.

"We are not in a position we can attribute to ourselves but to the National Party. If the policy of apartheid had not been applied we would have suffered less ... less money would have been needed for the upkeep of apartheid.

Mr F L Erasmus (LP Gelvandale) said the Minister of the Budget, Mr Andrew Julies, needed to be congratulated for making a good job of spreading the little money which had been allocated by the white system which he inherited.

The abundance of apartheid legislation, especially the Group Areas Act, "make us slaves in our own country".

Mr Erasmus said: "We have become disillusioned at what we have to remedy. How will the Minister do it? The money has been spent on ideology — like homelands. It seems to me that we have come into the new dispensation at the wrong time. There is no money."

In sub-economic coloured suburbs of Port Elizabeth there were two-roomed houses inhabited by 32 people. The conditions caused frustration and gave rise to the "housing pathology" — TB, drinking and incest.

BOYCOTT

"Men turn to drink because they earn too little, their families are too big and their accommodation too small. This is the breeding place for riots ... where people live like animals."

He said regardless of the efforts made by the UDF to boycott the coloured election last year, 10 000 people in the Swartkops area and 16 000 people in the Port Elizabeth area went to the polls.

"Isn't that a passport to participate?"

Mr Julies moved that the debate be adjourned until after the recess. — Sapa.

11A (10) 301

UDF members held in Ciskei

ARGUS 29/3/85
DURBAN. — Members of the UDF are among a number of people detained by Ciskei police in Mdantsane near East London early today, a UDF spokesman has confirmed.

Others held are members of the South African Allied Workers' Union (Saawu) and other organisations.

Mrs Nocawa Makonco of a firm of attorneys in Port Elizabeth said her firm was representing 17 of those held.

They are Mr Hintsu Siwisa, Mr Kingston Gswala, Mr Office Mnyobe, Mr Joe Jongolo, Mrs Priscilla Maxongo, Mr Zimela Msoki, Mr Mzwandile Mampunye, Mr Phillip Silotile, Mr Vusile Mathi, Mr Humphrey Masegwala, Mr Alfred Metele, Mr Scelo Ndevu, Mr Tozi Mehlo, a man only known as Dangala, Mrs Gertie Botha and Dr Nonkosi Ngumbela, all from Mdantsane.

Also allegedly held is the Rev B Stofile from Alice. — Argus Correspondent and Sapa.

Seweter 29/3/85 (11A)

ANC

Civilian targets, multinationals face attack

THREAT

BRUSSELS — An African National Congress official yesterday raised the possibility of the ANC attacking white civilian targets and subsidiaries of multinational companies in South Africa.

Speaking at a Press conference called to protest against the Langa shootings, the ANC's Brussels representative, Mr Godfrey Motsere, said there was a "rising feeling" within the group for more drastic action.

"We have used a lot of restraint until now," he said. "We have attacked police stations, oil depots and bridges, but not white civilians because we are fighting the government and the system and not the people."

Apartheid

"But I would not be surprised if white civilian targets were hit now . . . and the apartheid system makes this easy."

Mr Motsepe said multinational companies operating in South Africa were also likely to be singled out for attacks.

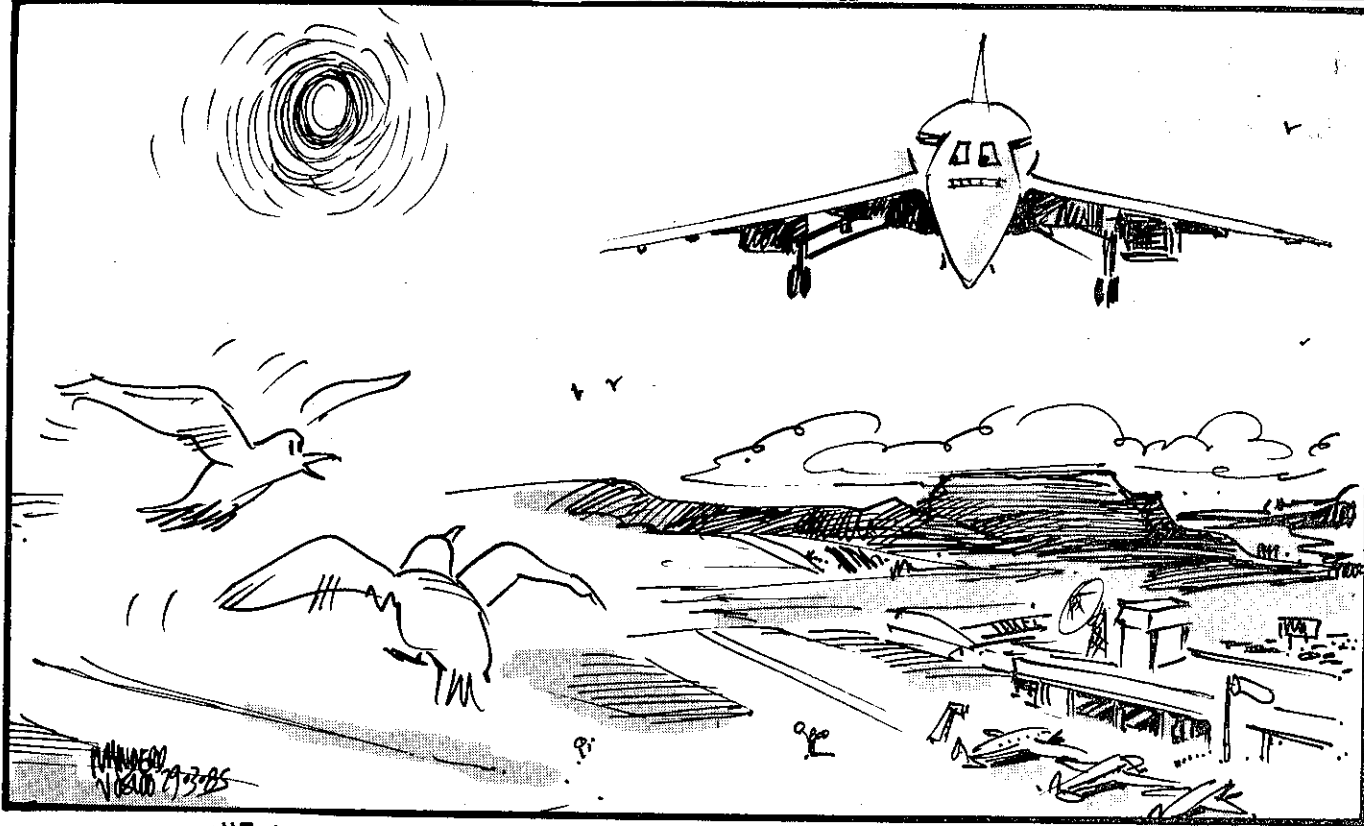
"If they think they can live off the blood, sweat and toil of our people, they are in for a rude shock," he said. "They have got to realise that they are investing in an unstable country."

The chairman of the Organisation of African Unity's Brussels ambassadors, Mr Leshele Thoahlane, of Lesotho, said the group had asked Italy to put South Africa on the agenda of the European community's two-day summit, which starts today.

The community had so far taken only limited action against South Africa, he said. "We want it to intensify the flimsy code of conduct that it has asked its own companies to follow into something more meaningful."

The group called on foreign governments to condemn the killings in Sharpeville and Langa and repeated its demands for an end to foreign investment in South Africa.

"Continued collaboration with South Africa's undemocratic and repressive regime will be seen as a direct support of its terrorist acts and killings in cold blood," its statement said. — Sapa-Reuter.



"Eat up your worm, or you won't grow up into a big bird like that!"



**THE
PRESIDENCY**

11/6/83
29/3/84

11/4
30/3/84

By **TOS WENTZEL**
Political Correspondent



Black political rights are now a PW priority

PRESIDENT P W Botha this week again dealt with what he clearly regards as one of his top priorities — opportunities for blacks outside the homelands to express themselves above local government level.

He continued with a theme he started when he opened this year's session of Parliament.

This week he was speaking at the first meeting of the Council for the Co-ordination of Local Government to be attended by blacks.

He was also speaking against the background of the tragic events in the Langa township at Uitenhage and continuing unrest in black townships in various parts of the country.

He reiterated that the Government was fully aware of and acknowledged that there were certain problems which led to frustration in the black communities.

Local government rights would not be enough.

In the key sentence in his address Mr Botha said:

"The question is not whether the black communities should be given political rights, but the question is how it should be done without the one population group being placed in a position to permanently dominate the other."

In his opening address to Parliament he finally dismissed the idea that blacks should only find political expression through ties with the homelands. He also announced that the question of black citizenship outside the homelands was being investigated.

The special Cabinet committee on black constitutional development is doing the exploratory work on these issues for the President.

The committee recently met with some leaders of the non-independent, self-governing states.

At its 18th meeting since it started in 1983 the committee met some of the leaders of the

non-independent but self-governing "national states"

There it was decided that another special meeting on aspects of the President's constitutional ideas for blacks should be held.

As the chairman, Mr J C Heunis put it, the committee is looking for "umbrella structures of co-operation for the various constitutional entities within the South African context."

The Government is steering away from the idea of a fourth chamber of Parliament for blacks but the idea of some black council, mooted earlier on, to liaise with Parliament or the Government may well be dusted off again.

At least three more meetings with the leaders of the self-governing states are envisaged for the rest of the year and the next one is scheduled for May 24.

While Mr Botha has again acknowledged that there are problems which lead to frustra-

tion in the black communities the judicial commission on the Uitenhage events has been limited to investigating the "factual circumstances" regarding the incident at Uitenhage.

Such a commission could have been the ideal vehicle for a broader investigation into the whole background to the continuing unrest, especially in the Eastern Cape.

One objection to such an investigation is that it would take so long.

This could be overcome by asking the judge to produce an interim report, just on the events at Uitenhage on March 21, and then to continue with a broader investigation.

Mr Botha clearly does not have such a more general inquiry in mind. Instead, he asked even Parliament not to discuss the Uitenhage events while the commission was investigating — in spite of the fact that the Speaker had ruled that the matter was not *sub judice*.

Unlike the ANC, however, Sactu was never banned, although a number of its leaders were, and others were detained. After government's crackdown on the ANC in 1960 many of Sactu's remaining officials went into exile. The organisation is now prominent in anti-apartheid circles overseas and has observer status at the International Labour Organisation.

It has not, however, maintained a visible presence in SA since the mid-Sixties, which is why the 30th anniversary campaign is seen as significant. Meetings have already been held in the Transvaal and eastern Cape and thousands of pamphlets on Sactu's history have been distributed in the western Cape.

Commemoration organisers claim that no decision has been taken to revive Sactu. But it appears that the unions involved wish at least to form a bloc representing the tradition of high political profile unionism. Whether they do so as affiliates of Sactu or in a less formal way it will represent a move to which the 24 unions now engaged in unity talks aimed at forming a new federation of emerging unions will have to respond.

Most unions participating in the campaign are affiliated to the United Democratic Front (UDF). They include the: SA Allied Workers' Union (Saawu); General and Allied Workers' Union (Gawu); Municipal and General Workers' Union; General Workers' Union of SA; Motor Assembly and Components Workers' Union; United Mining, Metal and Allied Workers of SA; and the Cape-based Clothing Workers' Union.

Five of these unions were originally party to the unity talks but stopped participating a year ago when ideological and organisational conflicts erupted. Gawu general secretary Sydney Mafumadi denies, however, that there is any intention to revive Sactu to counter the anticipated new federation.

He says his union is committed to the idea of a single union federation in SA and hopes

to return to the unity talks. He emphasises that the commemorations are designed to recall Sactu history as "it represents the history of the SA labour movement."

A spokesman for the western Cape's 30th Anniversary Committee says it is confining its activities to commemorating the Sactu anniversary as the organisation "laid the basis for much of today's progressive unionism, although many do not acknowledge this." The spokesman says it cannot be stated categorically what decisions may be taken with regard to a revival of Sactu. The spokesman envisages though, that if the UDF unions eventually join the new union federation "we would enter it on strictly defined lines."

Unity talks

The unity talks unions have steered clear of affiliating to political organisations, preferring to maintain independent positions and co-operating with political organisations on an *ad hoc* basis. This has been a point of conflict between them and the UDF-linked unions and is likely to remain one. One source went so far as to argue that unless the "unity" unions decide to affiliate and throw in their lot with the UDF unions "there would be no point in their existence."

However, it is unlikely that the UDF unions have sufficient clout to force the "unity" unions to change their views so radically. There is no doubt that the "unity" unions have a far stronger shopfloor presence. A more likely scenario is that the UDF unions will eventually apply for membership of the new federation as a single grouping — possibly as Sactu — and, if accepted, push their viewpoint from within. ■

UNION FEDERATIONS

Reviving memories

(11A) FM 29/3/85
A series of public meetings and the distribution of pamphlets commemorating the 30th anniversary of the SA Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) has raised speculation that the organisation is to be revived within SA. It has operated in exile since the mid-Sixties.

Sactu, established in March 1955, was a member of the Congress Alliance of the Fifties and early Sixties and maintained close links with the African National Congress (ANC). At its peak, it had 35 affiliates with 53 000 members.

TIME TO REGISTER

Time is running out for people who have the necessary skills — but lack the appropriate qualifications — to take advantage of the special dispensation offered by the SA Board for Personnel Practice (SABPP) for registration.

The SABPP was established about two years ago to control the standards of professional conduct of personnel managers and to promote training. A special clause in its charter contains a dispensation which allows unqualified personnel practitioners to seek registration until April 17.

SABPP chairman Garry Whyte says the dispensation is most applicable to persons employed in responsible positions who have considerable experience in the field but not the specialised qualifications of new entrants to the profession.

FM 29/3/85

~~227~~ ~~11A~~

behaviour" of the commuters and their representatives during the boycott. It has, indeed, been a unique event.

In the past, bus boycotts have tended to lead to violence. This one has been resolved through peaceful negotiations involving commuters, employers (who helped to bring the parties together and provided alternative transport for employees during the boycott), the bus company and government.

(Current affairs March 8).

Details of the agreement include:

- Until June 30, fares will remain the same as those in effect before December 31;
- The January 1 increases will then come into effect, subject to the company discussing any amendments proposed by the committee;
- Competing services will use company permits on certain routes;
- Thereafter there will be increases, if necessary, in January of each year;
- The Minister of Transport will initiate a study to investigate the whole transport system in SA and will investigate the possibility of a railway passenger service in the Richards Bay/Empangeni Area; and
- The local MP, Willem Heine, will attempt to have charges against 14 people arrested during the boycott withdrawn as soon as possible. ■

BUS BOYCOTT

~~227~~ ~~11A~~

Peacefully settled

Settlement has finally been reached in the nine-week-old Empangeni/Richards Bay bus boycott.

Following inquiries and negotiations, agreement was reached last week between commuters, United Transport and government representatives. The 35% fare increase which sparked the 60 000-strong boycott has been delayed for six months. Future increases will be subject to consultation between the company and commuters.

In addition, to meet commuter demands for competition, the company has agreed to allow competitors to operate on certain routes. They will use the permits granted to Empangeni Transport, a United Transport subsidiary.

It is unclear when commuters will return to using the buses. The FM understands that they wish to do so only when competing companies are operating. However, this may take some time, and a spokesman for United Transport says he hopes the situation will return to normal this week.

He adds that talks between United and other operators have begun, and the company has issued a letter of intent to honour the agreement.

The spokesman praised the "responsible

Services, vigil in City

CAPE TOWN
29/3/85 (11A)
[Handwritten initials and scribbles]

Staff Reporter

A NUMBER of memorial services, culminating in an all-night vigil in St George's Cathedral, were held in the City yesterday as part of the national day of mourning called by the United Democratic Front for those who died last week in the shootings at Uitenhage.

At the University of the Western Cape, about 2 500 students boycotted classes to attend a service in the university's main hall.

During a subdued meeting where addresses were interspersed with singing, the university chaplain, the Rev Colin Jones, said one of the great sadnesses in South Africa was that the people of the country could not even grieve together.

Referring to the fact that the State President, Mr P W Botha, had interrupted his address on the crisis in national security on Wednesday to inform Parliament that a bus carrying white schoolchildren had plunged into a dam, Mr Jones said the incident was indeed a tragic one that should be mourned but many would ask: "Where are the calls for compassion and for tears for those who died in Langa or in Sharpeville?"

'Kumbaya'

Mr Jones led the students in singing "Kumbaya" while he read a prayer.

Representatives of 13 student organizations from the campus each lit a candle and described their reasons for mourning.

The remainder of the student body then lit candles in the darkened hall and sang.

The secretary of the Catholic Bishops Conference, Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa, told the students they had to be pre-

pared to take on "a fundamental, radical commitment" to bringing about changes in the country.

The Imam Hassan Solomons told the students they had a role to play as leaders of their communities. It was their duty to make sure the world knew about the situation in South Africa.

Both the Imam and Father Mkhathshwa also addressed an interdenominational service held at the University of Cape Town during lunch hour.

'This evil'

At the UCT meeting Anglican Church worker, Dr Margaret Nash, said the present situation in South Africa challenged Christians to fight "this evil done in the name of God".

"If we remain silent we shall be as guilty as those who watched while Christ was nailed to the cross," she said.

Mr Denis Davis, a senior lecturer at UCT who spoke as a Jewish community leader, said Jewish people who believed in the government's policy were insulting their heritage.

At rush-hour yesterday evening, students from the Michaelis School of Art set up a number of dummies of fallen figures to represent those who have died in recent violence in South Africa along the perimeters of their campus to attract the attention of homeward-bound commuters.

● The chairman of the Islamic Council for South Africa in the Eastern Cape, Sheikh Abul Baker Mohammed, said yesterday a special prayer meeting, a qunoot, would be held in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage mosques today "to bring peace and prosperity to South Africa and especially for the unrest in the Eastern Cape".

...
said.

Wednesday 20/3/85

MPs buy R1 000 000 building

(A)

CAPE TOWN—A group of 18 Indian MPs have formed a business consortium to buy a large block of flats and offices in the city's Woodstock suburb for more than a R1 000 000, a member of the House of Delegates said yesterday.

The 18 shareholding MPs, mostly from Durban, plan to contribute R60 000 each towards the company's capital fund at the rate of R1 000 a month each during their five-year term of parliamentary office, he said.

The consortium plans to use the fully-let building for investment purposes. —(Sapa)

2 Post
Goldberg

still

(11A)

supports

armed

struggle

LUSAKA — Former South African political prisoner Mr Denis Goldberg said yesterday he still supported armed struggle against apartheid although he had pledged not to take part in acts of violence himself.

Mr Goldberg said his undertaking to renounce violence in exchange for his release last month from 22 years in jail was purely personal and did not imply any criticism of the African National Congress (ANC) organisation.

Up to his arrest in 1963, Mr Goldberg was one of the leaders of Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), the armed wing of the ANC.

Explaining his renunciation of violence, Mr Goldberg told a Press conference: "I do not seek to impose my view on the African National Congress, of which I am a member."

"I do not have any criticism of the strategy or tactics of the African National Congress, and in particular I support the armed struggle, although I personally will not perform the acts which I have undertaken not to do."

Mr Goldberg was freed on February 28 after South African President P W Botha offered to release long-term security prisoners who renounced violence.

Mr Goldberg said his decision to accept had not caused any friction of which he was aware between himself and the ANC leadership.

Mr Goldberg said he expected to settle in London, where his wife lives. — Sapa-Reuter

23

9

14

(7/1/85) (10/10)
Doctor UDF
D. Mafalala
man held *30/3/85*

EAST LONDON — Ciskei Police have confirmed the detention of 12 people this week.

The Ciskei Police liaison officer, Major Fikile Gatya, yesterday announced the detention of a Fort Hare lecturer and Border official of the United Democratic Front, the Rev. M. A. Stofile, of Alice, Miss Gertie Botha, of Mdantsane, and Dr Nonkosi Ngumbela, of Cecilia Makiwane Hospital in Mdantsane.

He also confirmed a report yesterday that nine other people had been detained. They were: Mr Hintsu Siwisa,

Mr Mzwandile Mampunye, Miss Priscilla Maxongo, Mr Alfred Metele, Miss Tozi Mehlo, Mr Robert Gqweta, Mr S. Dangala, Mr Humphrey Maxhegwana and Moses Twebe.

Major Gatya said the people were detained under Section 26 of the National Security Act.

Mr Stofile was picked up in the early hours of Thursday morning, according to his wife, Mrs N. Stofile.

She said the police told her that her husband was being held incommunicado. She was allowed to bring him clothes to change and a Bible. — DDR

30/3/85



Denis Goldberg

Political role for Goldberg in struggle

LUSAKA. — Former South African political prisoner Mr Denis Goldberg said yesterday he still supported armed struggle against apartheid although he had pledged not to take part in violence himself.

Mr Goldberg said his undertaking to renounce violence in exchange for his release last month after 21 years in jail was personal and did not imply criticism of the ANC.

Up to his arrest in 1963, Mr Goldberg was one of the leaders of Umkhonto We Sizwe, the armed wing of the ANC.

Mr Goldberg said his decision had not caused any friction of which he was aware between himself and ANC leaders.

Tears

He had tears in his eyes when he described the "overwhelming and very moving" reception he was given by ANC officials in Lusaka.

Mr Goldberg said he had agreed to renounce violence because "quite simply after that length of time in prison, the thought of facing more time was just more than I could bear".

He would now be involved in "the political aspect of what is a politico-military struggle".

"Until they talk about political rights at central government level, there can be no peace and the armed struggle will continue, and I believe must continue," he said.

Mr Goldberg said he expected to settle in London where his wife lives.

— Sapa-Reuters

Sharpeville a lasting symbol of conflict in SA

Cape Times
21/3/85
11A

TODAY 25 years ago police opened fire during a pass-law protest in Sharpeville. BARRY STREEK of the Cape Times political staff looks back and discusses the symbolic nature of that event.

THE small township of Sharpeville in the Vaal Triangle shot into international prominence when police opened fire on a crowd of about 10 000 black people demonstrating against the pass laws, killing 69 and injuring nearly 200 people.

Soon afterwards the government banned the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) — and a new era of violent confrontation in South Africa began.

Last year, Sharpeville again shot into world headlines. As the new three-house constitution was being inaugurated in Cape Town, violence erupted in the area, resulting in the death of 40 people and more than 300 injured.

The violent clashes between authority and governed in South Africa which began at Sharpeville in September last year have never really ended, and those conflicts have subsequently spread to different parts of South Africa, including Crossroads and the Eastern Cape.

Scrapping influx control

There was also considerable violence and many deaths during the disturbances in Soweto and elsewhere in 1976, but it is Sharpeville, the town named after a Mr Sharpe, a former mayor of Vereeniging, which symbolizes the intensity of the conflict between a white minority government and a frustrated African majority.

The issue of protest on March 21, 1960, was the pass laws. Today, 25 years later, there is increasing talk about scrapping influx control and stopping the clogging up of the courts and jails with technical offenders.

But they have not yet been scrapped: The latest figures given in Parliament show that the police arrested more than 160 000 black people for contravening the influx control measures in 1984, one person every 3,2 minutes of the year.

The despised pass laws, which only apply to people classified as "black", may slowly be on the way out, but the fundamental causes of conflict in Sharpeville have not disappeared.

Violent clashes

After the turbulence of 1976, which also affected Sharpeville, and the nation-wide school boycotts of 1980, the government finally accepted the goal of equality of education. But despite a 29 percent increase in government spending on black education in this week's Budget, black schoolchildren know that inequality in education is the continuing reality they have to face in the classroom.

Rent increases last year and disenchantment with the new constitution which again excluded the African majority from having any say in the government of their own country sparked off the violent clashes in Sharpeville and elsewhere. The rents were quickly reduced and the violence subsided, but Sharpeville had again lived up to its symbolism.

Last year, as in 1960, the authorities quickly blamed outsiders: the chief director of the East Rand Development Board, Mr Charles Marx, said he believed the unrest was planned from outside South Africa and was timed deliberately to affect the new political dispensation. In 1960, the authorities blamed the communists and agitators, using this pretext to ban the ANC and the PAC.

'Tailor-made for disaster'

Whatever excuse the authorities might like to use, they know in their hearts that the pass laws, inequality in schools and the lack of a vote have nothing to do with outsiders or communists — and that the National Party is still faced with the problem of how to confront those realities without alienating too many conservative (and racist) white people.

Last year, Jon Qwelane, a Johannesburg journalist justifiably angered by the outsider conspiracy, wrote: "Forget the faceless and nameless communists, agitators, and intimidators. The situation in Sharpeville and other black townships was tailor-made for disaster . . ."

"If it was communists, agitators and intimidators on the loose in the troubled townships this week, then almost every resident, including children, is a communist, agitator and intimidator."

Basic issues

With this jaundiced view of outsiders, the government reacted to the Sharpeville killings by banning the ANC, which then went underground and adopted a strategy of violence. Today, 25 years later, that violence is still with us and is now used as an excuse to prevent any negotiation between the government and the ANC.

But, tragically, Sharpeville both in 1960 and in 1984 demonstrated to the world that the basic issues of conflict in South Africa lie within.

It is a tragedy graphically illustrated in the television confrontation between the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, and Bishop Desmond Tutu this week. Here was the first meeting between any member of the cabinet and the bishop since he was given the Nobel Peace Prize in 1984, and it had to take place on an American television show.

Mr Botha, sensibly, did not respond when Bishop Tutu said that although he was a bishop in the Anglican church in a senior diocese, he could not vote in his own country. But that issue, the equal right of every South African to their own country, is, in the final analysis, what the conflicts in Sharpeville have been all about.

... but will a ~~major~~ major clampdown follow? *C. Press*

31/3/85
FOR THE first time, all 16 Durban treason trialists will appear together tomorrow in the Durban Magistrate's Court.

And given the strong pressure on South Africa by Western governments and the United Nations, there is at last some hope that they may be granted bail.

The first group of eight — including five from the “consulate sit-in” — are appearing for remand.

The second group of eight — arrested some time after the first group — will appear to hear the prosecutor argue against allowing them bail.

The Natal Attorney-General has issued certificates refusing bail to all 16, but lawyers have given an argument challenging the legality of the certificates issued against the second eight.

The bail ban has already crippled three of the trialists financially — UDF president Archie Gumede and Natal Indian Congress vice-president M J Naidoo have been forced to shut their legal firms.

Transvaal Indian Congress president Essop Jassat had to close his medical practice.

Appearing tomorrow are Albertina Sisulu, George Sewpersadh, Paul David, Cassim Salojee, Curtis Nkondo, Frank Chikane, Aubrey Mokoena, Ismail Mohamed, Sam Kikine, Isaac Ngcobo, Thozamile Gqweta and Sisa Njikelana.

Meanwhile, a heavy security crackdown is being anticipated after this week's appeal by State President P W Botha that the “nation should work together for peaceful solutions”.

In a joint sitting of Parliament, Mr Botha said he had already given instructions for “appropriate steps to be taken to restore and maintain law and order”.

It is understood that Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange has no plans to make any announcements at this stage.

However, last month he warned that there could possibly be strict action against some individuals and organisations. This was, in most circles, interpreted as referring to the UDF and Cosas.

BAIL FOR THE TREASORERS

BLACK POLITICS
1985

APRIL MONTH

Kaiser: ^{11A} why the ^{Dispatch} ANC was ^{1/4/85} formed

QUMBU — The African National Congress had been formed to fight for the rights of blacks and violence had never been envisaged, the Prime Minister, Chief George Matanzima, said here.

But when the Communist Party had been banned, it joined the ANC and soon took control of it to manipulate it for its own purposes, he said.

The Prime Minister told a Transkei National Independence Party rally here that the ANC had been formed to fight the Land Act.

On Transkei's independence, Chief Matanzima said: "Our independence is not recognised at the moment as many claim it has been gained through separate development.

"We were never under South Africa as we were just like other countries which were protectorates.

"Transkei had always been separate from South Africa and for any law which was practised in South Africa to be applied in Transkei, it had to go through certain channels."

He said the trouble started when Sir George Grey approached Transkei chiefs to join South Africa for what he termed protection.

"Certain parts of our land were taken away and in 1910 the white people introduced the Land Act which actually left the black man with nothing.

"This Act was responsible for the formation of the African National Congress which strove to fight an Act intended to rob the black man of his own country."

The party's leader said Transkei would never rest until "we have regained the land which is legally ours".

Addressing school-children among the 2500-strong crowd, the Prime Minister said education was a prerequisite of any developing country.

He urged the children to cling dearly to education, which was the only available weapon to black people.

He said there was no room in the modern world for people who did not care about education.

He emphasised that education had to be coupled with good manners.

He warned the children about indulging in liquor, which he described as the worst enemy, not only of Transkei, but the entire free world. — DDR.

Sensitiser 1/4/85 11A

Youths urged to unite



**FATHER S'MANGALISO
MKATSHWA.**

MORE than 1 000 people yesterday attended the Pretoria International Year of the Youth rally in Atteridgeville.

The ceremony took place at the Mlambo Hall and was attended by members of local youth organisations and those from Mamelodi, Mabopane, Ga-Rankuwa and other areas. Speakers said youths were on a march and that it was only through unity they could overcome oppression.

Father Smangaliso Mkatshwa, secretary

By ALINAH DUBE

general of the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC), told the multiracial audience that conflict between those who called themselves rulers and the oppressed people started years ago when a black man was dispossessed of his land.

The land issue, he said, played a vital role in people's lives and once taken away, those affected were bound to be powerless. He also explained that after the

land take-over, whites continued not to involve blacks in the decision making and that they were discriminated against because of the colour and "smell" of their skin.

"This goes to show why today there are homelands where people are being restricted and deprived of their citizenship. But even in olden days black people resisted against those who took away their wealth," Father Mkatshwa said

H

If you frown upon the rivalry between the United Democratic Front and Azanian Peoples Organisation then you are probably making a mountain out of a molehill.

This rivalry is a Sunday school picnic compared to the one between the African National Congress (ANC) and Pan Africanist Congress (PAC).

While the one will claim it has nothing to do with the other and is only fighting Pretoria, but beneath this show of unconcerned lies the most intense of rivalries. So intense that even some of the African states feel embarrassed by it.

After the session last Thursday and Friday a week ago of the United Nations Committee Against Apartheid a resolution had to be adopted. While speakers had all been united in their condemnation of apart-

ANC, PAC in royal battle abroad

heid, the differences occurred when the resolution had to be adopted.

Behind closed doors — as I later learnt — officials of the committee plus representatives of the two organisations were in a congress. They were debating the full stops, commas and words to be used in the resolution condemning apartheid and calling on the world to take action.

Rivalry

One UN official succinctly put it: "Man! These people of the ANC and PAC are arguing about where to put full stops and commas. And this is a continuing battle."

The United Nations, the rest of the international community and world forums are hunt-

ing ground for the organisations. There is a lot of wheeling and dealing, and the intrigue involving these two organisations is an illustration of the intense rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union.

They vie for the support of just about every pressure group, and some of these pressure groups have thrown in their lot with one or the other. It is a mammoth battle fought every other day.

But being a South African and conscious of the fact that these organisations represent me and millions of other blacks — I found the rivalry most interesting, if not a mite tragic.

The saving grace about this rivalry is that after years of politicking the organisations have at last made one major gain — they can now ignore each other. Their rivalry is not confrontationalist. They pretend that the other does not exist but underneath they work day and night to maintain an edge over the other.

Unusual

It is not unusual to find one of their officials say: "Look, we are concerned with Pretoria and bringing freedom to our people back at home. We do not have time to fight our own brothers and sisters. The oppressor would benefit."

As you stand there and smile with satisfaction that they are now talking like adults, comes the clanger: "But you know, that other group is irrelevant. They do not know whether they are coming or going. Just the other day they made this blinder. Utterly irrelevant."

And that smile of satisfaction is wiped off one's face.

Ironically, this was one of the highlights of my visit to the United Nations. Just talking to as many exiles and refugees as possible. The nostalgia and the longing to come back home was sometimes too much to bear.

The exiles just enjoy

In 1960 the African National Congress (ANC) and Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) were banned and the organisations operated from outside South Africa. Thami Mazwai, news editor of The SOWETAN, was at the United Nations recently and in this article takes a look at their politicking at the world body.



THAMI MAZWAI

talking to somebody from home, just to hear pretty gossip. Standing there you represent all that is South Africa to them.

Emotion

You are in fact more than South Africa, but Black South Africa. It was emotional.

But, you must watch it. The exiles themselves are in two camps, those supporting the ANC and

those backing the PAC. It is so natural — this taking of sides.

This comes out in arguments — whenever they get together. It is a right royal battle — some with doctorates from Europe's leading universities. Armed with these Phds, they still find time to argue over what the PAC or ANC stands for, and which is the relevant organisation.

MOTORPARTS & ACCESSORIES

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W
E

From Mr D M G CURRY, MP:

THE article entitled "Irony in LP attack on rejection of Mancom" (Civic Diary by Hilary Venables, Cape Times, March 25) needs an answer.

The Labour Party's attack on the Cape Town City Council is a simple one. The council refuses to acknowledge management committees for coloured people. It is against the "system". Our stance is that the white councillors have no right to object to our participation on coloured management committees.

It is "ironic" that white liberals consider it quite kosher for them to operate on white, separate city council government-created platforms. The National Party made city council platforms for whites only. Yet white liberals declared themselves "democratic" even though they have been elected only by white voters. No coloured, African or Indian has any say in the election of the city council of Cape Town.

Yet the council reserves the moral right to decide for coloured people when they themselves became elected through a process created by the National Party.

But when coloured people stand for election, the rationalizations come. Councillors talk of low percentage polls when some of them were elected by polls below 30 percent. Some years ago the members of the city council found that some coloured voters in Maitland Garden Village were left by mistake on the city council voters' rolls in Maitland.

A voters' revision court headed by Cape Town city councillors removed coloured voters from the voters' roll because the law said so. When it suits

Labour Party have their own strategy

them, the city council used even the Group Areas Act to house coloured people, yet some of the councillors want to stand on a high moral pulpit about the evils of using the "system" when they are guilty of the same sin.

When I say that the State President and Minister Chris Heunis put their heads on the block, it is because the government was responsible for promulgating regulations to improve relations between local government councils and management committees.

We in the Labour Party entered into the negotiating process with the government. We asked for a working committee to be established between ourselves and the Nats. This finally led to the creation of the coordinating council in which representatives of local government of the three groups, whites, coloureds and Indians, serve.

This forum is continually being used to negotiate reform in local government. At the recent meeting of this council on March 27, African representatives from local government were admitted officially on this platform. Through government structures we, the Labour Party, brought Africans in.

This is why we acknowledge the efforts made by the State

President and Minister Chris Heunis to bring blacks into the negotiating arena. We must remember that this type of action led to the formation of the Conservative Party and the split in Afrikaners.

Like the city council, we want direct representation. We are, however, not so naive as to believe that the Nats are going to make us councillors tomorrow. We will have to fight to get there. But let us look at the city council's record.

The council built Mitchells Plain. The official opening was done by the late Mr B J Vorster when he was Prime Minister of South Africa. Mitchells Plain has no management committee system. Yet the United Democratic Front was born there in an area built by liberals.

Even the PFP in Parliament voted for the creation of black municipalities. As the saying goes: "It makes you think, doesn't it."

If the Cape Town city council wants to be faithful to basic liberal philosophies then it must do what the true boycotters did in Cape Town. They became non-collaborators. They refused to stand for election.

To Miss Hilary Venables, I say "whiteness" was not foisted on the liberals. Liberals like Alan Paton led the old Liberal Party of South Africa into



Mr David Curry

oblivion rather than compromise with the government.

White "liberal" councillors have a choice. They can resign from the "system". I can also argue that the management committee was "foisted on the coloured people". If it is politically right for white liberals to participate in local government on whites-only councils, then it is politically right for us to participate on coloureds-only management committees.

It seems Miss Venables has one code of conduct for white and another for coloured people. It is this kind of liberal "paternalism" that I question.

Further, it must be remembered that South Africa is not a suburb of Cape Town as far as the coloured people are concerned. Political groups within the coloured community have the right to express their point of view. We have the same right. Coloured people live all over South Africa, not just in Cape Town.

We in the Labour Party have decided on our own strategy within the system.

BRIEFING

Human rights award for Nelson Mandela

(11A)
RDM
11/4/85

NELSON MANDELA, the jailed leader of the banned African National Congress, has been awarded a R10 000 human rights prize by the Bar Council of Bordeaux in France.

The award will be presented in Bordeaux on April 27, and according to the rules it must be received by either the recipient or a member of the family.

Panel members who made the award include the former French Prime Minister and Mayor of Bordeaux, Mr Jacques Chaban-Delmas.

X Star 2/4/85

UDF hold protest at bank

About 40 members of the United Democratic Front (UDF) protested against foreign investment in South Africa at the Johannesburg offices of an American bank today.

Senior UDF officials and bank management held discussions while demonstrators with placards marched around the Citibank, offices on the 22nd floor of a city centre building singing protest songs.

Mr Ron Payne, a senior manager, said the discussions would not affect the bank's policies.

"Just because a guy comes in here brandishing an AK rifle, does not mean we will change our corporate policy," Mr Payne said.

None of the demonstrators were armed.

Mr Sidney Mufamadi, UDF publicity secretary and head of the delegation, said they had demonstrated the disgust of the black majority at the so-called constructive engagement between the South African Government, the administration of American President Ronald Reagan and multi-national companies.

UDF protest halts banking

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A United Democratic Front protest against foreign companies' "support" for apartheid yesterday brought the Johannesburg offices of Citibank to a standstill for about an hour.

About 40 supporters of the UDF and its affiliates marched into the offices of Citibank on the 22nd floor of the Anglo American Life Building in Commissioner Street, early yesterday.

Startled Citibank officials met with the leaders of the protest and the two groups held an hour-long discussion about the role of Citibank in South Africa.

Mr Sydney Mufamadi, the UDF's Transvaal publicity secretary, told the Citibank representatives that anyone associated with "the apartheid regime" was an accomplice in its "crimes".

He said: "We have come to protest against your indifference to the people of this country. Because you have kept quiet about what is happening, you are not neutral.

"As long as you are indifferent to the problems of our people, then you will be identified with the enemies of the people. We expect you to respond to the killing of our people (in Uitenhage) in a tangible way," he said.

Mrs Emma Mashinini, of the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union, asked the Citibank officials to distance themselves from the "scandalous" reaction of United States President Ronald Reagan to the Uitenhage shootings.

Citibank personnel director Mr Neil Munro declined to do this.

He asked the group to make positive suggestions about what Citibank could do.

He also declined to tell them what Citibank were already doing about the situation in South Africa, saying it was policy to do these things quietly and discreetly.

The UDF officials later left the building without incident.

Unionists march singing in Jo'burg

3/9/75
11A
About 60 supporters of the Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu) and United Democratic Front (UDF) marched, singing freedom songs, through the streets of central Johannesburg today.

A Johannesburg magistrate had just provisionally withdrawn subversion charges against one of Fosatu's members.

The crowd was confronted by riot police on the corners of Kerk and Harrison streets and after a heated exchange with a warrant officer was allowed to continue to the Fosatu offices in Harrison Street.

The march started at the Magistrate's Courts at lunchtime after Mr Moses Mayekiso (36) of Alexandra was provisionally released.

Mr Mayekiso, a Metal and Allied Workers' Union (Mawu) official, was alleged to have committed subversion by helping to organise last year's two-day stayaway.

Supporters sang freedom songs in the courtroom for more than two hours before the hearing while a strong contingent of riot policemen armed with concealed batons and teargas canisters watched.

After the hearing the crowd streamed into West Street bearing Mr Mayekiso aloft and marched to the Fosatu offices, escorted by two uniformed policemen.

The crowd swelled to several hundred outside the offices where plain-clothed policemen with shotguns were seen.

Sowetan 3/4/85 (1A)

UDF takes a stand against foreign trade

By ALI MPHAKI

THE United Democratic Front has launched a strong campaign against foreign investment in South Africa.

And yesterday morning, a group of about 40 members of the organisation staged a demonstration in the offices of an American bank in Johannesburg, protesting against foreign investment in South Africa.

It seems the anti-investment campaign, as unrelentlessly waged in the US, has finally taken root in the country, as the UDF officials held discussions with the bank management for more than 30 minutes, while others continued singing freedom songs and displaying placards on the 22nd floor of a city building.

The national publicity secretary of the UDF, Mr Terror Lekota, said however, that a final decision will be taken at the weekend during the organisation's annual general meeting.

Some of the placards read, "Citi Bank — you finance apartheid;" "Don't invest in apartheid; — Ban foreign investment;" and "Citi Bank you profit, we suffer".

The UDF delegation, led by the publicity secretary Mr Sydney Mofumadi, told the bank officials: "We protest the silence of foreign companies each time the apartheid state violates the rights and humanity of our people.

"For decades while the Industrial and Conciliation Act denied black workers trade union rights, British, American and companies of other countries were content to reap super profits from the cheap and unorganised labour of our people".

After the discussions Mr Neil Munro, the bank's personnel officer, said the UDF officials took emotive stances which clouded the issues.

"They do not understand the role of foreign companies in this country", he said.

Violence^{11A} will spread^{14/85} says UDF secretary

CAPE TOWN — South Africa would be engulfed in a civil war by the end of 1986, the United Democratic Front's Western Cape secretary, Mr Trevor Manuel, said last night.

Speaking to about 300 people at the End Conscription Committee's "civil-war" protest meeting at Claremont Civic Hall, Mr Manuel expressed the opinion that the violence in the Eastern Cape, of which the events at Langa on March 21 had been only the "tip of the iceberg", would soon spread to other parts of the country.

Welkom and Kroonstad would be next. The creation of black community councils caused much of the unrest.

UNREST

Reacting to President Botha's security address in Parliament, Mr Manuel said the unrest situations had been created by State over-reaction to the voicing of grievances — "usually small economic grievances".

Commenting on the presence of troops in Uitenhage and addressing white youths faced with national service, he said: "There is no middle road. You either stand for justice or stand against it."

Earlier at the meeting *The Argus* and *The Cape Times* were attacked by the chairman of the End Conscription Committee, Mr Michael Evans.

He said *The Argus* had rejected advertising for the meeting while *The Cape Times* insisted that the advertisement be watered down. — Sapa.

Cape Times 3/4/85
UDF (HA)
warns
on civil
war

Staff Reporter

SOUTH AFRICA would be engulfed in a civil war by the end of 1986, the United Democratic Front's Western Cape secretary, Mr Trevor Manuel, said last night.

Speaking to about 300 people at the End Conscription Committee's civil-war protest meeting at Claremont Civic Hall, Mr Manuel expressed the opinion that the violence in the Eastern Cape, of which the events at Langa on March 21 had been only the "tip of the iceberg", would soon spread to other parts of the country.

Welkom and Kroonstad would be the next areas of unrest, Mr Manuel predicted.

He blamed the establishment of black community councils — "essentially shifting the terrain of conflict from a black/white confrontation to a black/black confrontation" — as a cause of much of the unrest.

"And so the situation of unrest in the Eastern Cape will shift to other parts of the country. By the end of next year all of our country will be engulfed in civil war."

Reacting to President P W Botha's "state of the nation" security address in Parliament, Mr Manuel said the "unrest situations — often with heavy political-overtones" had been created by State "over-reaction" to the voicing of grievances — "usually small economic grievances".

"Conflict and confrontation is inherent in apartheid and, given the economic situation, the conflict will escalate."

Commenting on the presence of troops in Uitenhage and, in particular, addressing white youths faced with national service, he said: "There is no middle road. You either stand for justice or stand against it."

Earlier, both The Argus and Cape Times newspapers were attacked by the chairman of the End Conscription Committee, Mr Michael Evans.

He said that, like Cape Town City Council, which had refused permission for posters with the "Civil War Protest" legend to be put up, The Argus had entirely rejected advertising for the meeting, while the Cape Times insisted that the advertisement be watered down.

UDF points a finger at US bank

By Stuart Flitton

Senior managers of an American bank and United Democratic Front officials yesterday engaged in an often heated debate about the role of foreign companies in South Africa.

The debate came after 40 chanting and placard-carrying UDF members demonstrated at the Citibank offices on the 22nd floor of a central Johannesburg building.

In a statement the front condemned President Reagan for condoning the Uitenhage massacre.

The statement protested at:

● The collaboration of America with apartheid under the guise of con-

structive engagement.

● The financial backbone that foreign companies provided for the apartheid machinery in South Africa.

● The silence of foreign companies each time the apartheid state violated the rights and humanity of people. This included periodic massacres.

● Pretensions of concern for the people by foreign companies and their puppets who claimed that foreign investment benefited the oppressed people of South Africa.

Five United Democratic Front members and trade unionists held talks in an office with three se-

nior bank officials while the rest of the demonstrators sang and chanted in a hallway outside.

Mr Neil Munro, Citibank's personnel officer, told the delegation that the bank made regular representations to prominent people and conveyed its likes and dislikes concerning South African politics.

"We have not gone public about what we do outside the business sector," he said, "but I am prepared to speak to you individually in confidence."

"The bank finds apartheid morally unacceptable and deplores its continuation in South Africa.

"We remain committed

to peaceful social reforms and this can best be accomplished by the bank's continued presence in this country."

Mr Sidney Mufamadi, a United Democratic Front publicity secretary, said the bank did not care about the majority of South Africans who were not prominent people.

"You must come out openly and tell us what you intend to do," Mr Mufamadi added.

He accused the bank delegation of being apathetic about matters concerning the black majority and criticised them for not having made a statement about the shooting of 19 people in Uitenhage.

After the debate Mr Munro said the United Democratic Front officials took emotive stances which clouded the issues.

"They don't appreciate the roles of foreign companies in this country," he said.

Mr Mufamadi said his delegation had indicated the disgust of the black majority at the so-called constructive engagement.

"The management's emphasis on the bank's so-called quiet way of influencing political change in South Africa was typical of people who benefit from the super-exploitation of the black majority," Mr Mufamadi said.



Citibank security officer, Mr Ron Payne, talks to United Democratic Front officials against a background of placards and protest demonstration at Citibank's local headquarters yesterday. They were protesting against foreign investment.

UDF protests at bank over apartheid support

RDM 3/4/85

By ANTON HARBER
Political Reporter

MIA

A PROTEST against foreign business "support" for apartheid yesterday brought the Johannesburg offices of Citibank to a standstill for about an hour.

About 40 supporters of the United Democratic Front and its affiliates marched into the offices of Citibank on the 22nd floor of the Anglo American Life Building in Commissioner Street early yesterday.

Startled Citibank officials met the leaders of the protest and the two groups held a polite, hour-long discussion about the role of Citibank in South Africa.

The protestors foiled both the extensive security system at the entrance to the building and the bank's own sophisticated security system.

They slipped into the building in small groups and gathered on another floor.

Two of their demonstrators then waited for a Citibank staffer to open the bank doors with a security card and they held the doors open for the group to enter.

They unfurled banners saying "Collaboration with apartheid is treason" and "Uitenhage shootings: Your silence is deafening" and began to sing and chant.

Citibank officials agreed to discuss the protest with Mr Samson Ndou, UDF Transvaal vice-president, Mr Sydney Mufamadi, UDF Transvaal publicity secretary, Mr Amos Masondo, of the Soweto Civic Association, Mrs Leah Tutu, of the SA Council of Churches and Mrs Emma Mashinini of the

Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union.

Mr Mufamadi told the Citibank representatives people associated with "the apartheid regime" were accomplices in its "crimes".

"You have invested in this country and we maintain that your investment is tacit and even open support of apartheid.

"We have come to protest against your indifference to the people of this country. Because you have kept quiet about what is happening, you are not neutral.

"As long as you are indifferent to the problems of our people, then you will be identified with the enemies of the people.

Mrs Mashinini asked the Citibank officials to distance themselves from the "scandalous" reaction of US President Ronald Reagan to the Uitenhage shootings.

Citibank personnel director Mr Neil Munro declined to do this.

Mr Munro did most of the talking for the bank, reports Sapa-AP.

He said he could not make policy statements.

But he said Citibank was committed to improving the way of life for all South Africans, including blacks.

Mr Munro asked Mr Mufamadi repeatedly what concrete measures the protesters wanted the bank to take, and whether withdrawing all investments from South Africa would help or hurt blacks.

"We believe there has been injustice. We've been making representations."

He refused to elaborate.

State President Botha to attend 75th anniversary of black church

About two million people are expected to attend this weekend's gathering of the Zion Church near Pietersburg in the Northern Transvaal. The Argus Correspondent reports

THE State President, Mr P W Botha, will address one of Africa's largest — and most peaceful — mass gatherings this weekend when he attends the 75th anniversary celebrations of the Zion Christian Church (ZCC) at Moria, near Pietersburg.

About two million people are expected at this special Easter Convention, which has necessitated drastic traffic measures to avoid bottlenecks on the roads to the Northern Transvaal.

Mr Botha is the second leading white South African political figure to address the Zionists in recent years.

Dr Piet Koornhof, when Minister of Co-operation and Development in 1980, spoke at the church's 70th anniversary.

The church has about four million followers scattered across South Africa, Zimbabwe, Malawi and Swaziland and was founded in 1910 by Engenas Lekganyane of the Church of Scotland and grandfather of the present Bishop.

Engenas Lekganyane said he responded to what he termed 'a vision from God'. Members of the Lekganyane family have led the church throughout its development to become one of the largest religious organisations on the continent.

The founder was succeeded by his son Edward, but a younger son, Joseph, established a smaller rival church in the 1950s which still exists.

When Edward died the mantle of authority fell upon the present Bishop, Barnabas.

At 30 years of age Bishop Barnabas, a diploma graduate of the All Africa School of Theology at Witbank, though youthful, is highly respected and revered by his followers, some of whom have elevated him to the same status as Christ.

The bishop will deliver his main Easter sermon on Sunday morning when the Freedom of Moria will be conferred on the State President.

The ZCC, which officially has a reformed Protestant theological stance, integrates traditional customs into its worship services and has a major emphasis on healing and neighbourly love.

Some theologians have described it as an interesting alternative for black Christians who are not at home in traditional western churches.

One historian sees the ZCC as having a particular role in combating marxist communism on the sub-continent.

Preparations to receive the masses of believers started several weeks ago with the clearance of large areas on the mountainside where most of the convention-goers will camp for the weekend.

Huge supplies of food started to arrive in delivery vans at Moria yesterday but many

church members said they would be providing their own meals.

Loudspeakers have been installed over an area of about two hectares where the

main open-air services will

The church's outstanding and a mass choir will feature a climax programme.

It questions built to serve protection they have

London ea

LONDON.

prices drifted yesterday in thin lack of support the Easter by FTSE 100 share down 12.7 at before the close

Base rate of point to 13-1/4 by Barclays land had little

British Aeroclined 20p to

n- SA visa ^{11A}
^{D. Disputat}
decision:
UDF ^{4/4/85} man
to appeal

EAST LONDON — Mr Stephen Tshwete, an executive member of the Border branch of the United Democratic Front has filed an application for leave to appeal against the decision of the Supreme Court which ruled that he should obtain a visa or a permit to stay in South Africa.

Mr L. Makapela, the lawyer representing Mr Tshwete, said he had appealed to the Appellate division.

He said he was not aware whether or not Mr Tshwete had applied for a visa or a permit to live in South Africa.

Mr Justice Jones had ruled that the government had acted correctly in demanding a visa from Mr Tshwete in order for him to live in South Africa. — DDR.

MAGUS 4/4/85

3A 11A

Inkatha youth and ASB to have joint political meeting

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — In a move to create better relations between black and white student bodies, the conservative Afrikaanse Studentebond (ASB) has announced its decision to hold a joint political conference with the Inkatha Youth Brigade (IYB) this month.

The president of the ASB, Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk, said there was an eagerness among young Afrikaners to speak to different population groups about South Africa's problems.

"The future of South Africa lies in the hands of the youth and the time has come for the ASB to meet other student organisations," he said yesterday.

Formed in 1977 and with a membership of about 430 000 people, the IYB is the student wing of Chief Gatsha Buthele-

zi's Inkatha movement. The ASB is the only national body for Afrikaans students and 15 universities, colleges and technkons are affiliated to the organisation.

"CONCERN"

The president of the IYB, Mr Musa Zondi, said his organisation had accepted the ASB's offer to hold a joint political conference because "many black people had not had the opportunity to discuss issues with white people which were of mutual concern."

Mr Zondi pointed out that there had been a "great change" in the ASB's policy over the past few years.

"When we first met the ASB about five years ago they took us as wolves in sheepskins who were trying to hijack them for our own motives.

FM 5/4/85

~~SECRET~~
CITIBANK PROTEST

(11A) ~~SECRET~~
The internal campaign for US companies to disinvest in SA was highlighted in Johannesburg this week when more than 20 United Democratic Front (UDF) activists picketed the offices of Citibank.

The activists held placards and sang freedom songs. They included Leah Tutu, wife of the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, Nobel laureate Desmond Tutu; Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union general secretary Emma Mashinini; and Sampson Ndou and Amos Masondo of the General and Allied Workers' Union.

A statement "deploring" US President Ronald Reagan's attitude towards the SA political struggle and the presence of foreign companies in this country — aiding the "oppression and exploitation of our people" — was presented to Neil Munro, Citibank's personnel director.

w/ ARGUS 6/4/85

'Nowhere people'

Weekend Argus
Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH.

— A derelict school in the white area of Uitenhage is being used to accommodate blacks fearful of continuing to live in the local black townships.

The Innes Primary School, just off Uitenhage's main street, now houses in its dormitories black policemen and community councillors and their families whose houses in the townships have been burnt.

The best known of these "nowhere people" is Mrs Joyce Kinikini, whose community councillor husband and her son were hacked to death and burnt by a mob in Uitenhage's Kwanobuhle township two weeks ago.

Sitting forlornly amid the scattered remains of the furniture she salvaged from her home before the mob destroyed it, Mrs Kinikini is bewildered by the sudden turn of events which has brought her once

successful life crashing around her.

"My son Kwala is still missing. He is only 12, I don't even know if he is still alive," she said.

Mrs Kinikini, who was born and raised in Uitenhage, says she does not know where to go with her four daughters.

"I have nine brothers here in Uitenhage but they and their families are too scared to talk to me because the mob will kill them."

Other black families also wonder when their lives will return to normal and they can move back to what little remains of their homes.

They are the victims of circumstances that have radically changed since their husbands and fathers took jobs in the police force and community council, which once assured them of status and security.

In the Uitenhage black townships, not a single policeman's house remains standing and policemen's homes in other townships have

also come increasingly under attack by youth gangs.

After similiar attacks and abuse the community councillors of two Eastern Cape townships resigned — and in others the list of defections grows daily under relentless pressure.

Many councillors have taken to living in hotels in the white and coloured areas.



Mrs Joyce Kinikini, whose husband and son were murdered by mobs in Uitenhage's black townships, now lives in a former white school.

There IS change but not all perceive it in same light

UDF
E. P.
bitte
6/4/85

The polarisation of attitudes toward
in South Africa is reflected in these
written by the secretary of one of the
movements outside Parliament, and
editor of a pro-Government newspaper
printed here from The South Africa

By HAROLD PAKENDORF
Editor, Die Vaderland

CHANGE in a country is difficult to measure only if your expectation of change is set unrealistically high.

To someone who regards "change" as a transition from a white minority government to a black majority there has clearly been little progress of late.

To someone who regards "change" as the systematic reduction of privileges for whites, there is an abundance of evidence of it.

Change is question of perception — what one person experiences as continuing oppression another considers the "selling out" of his protected position.

It is certain that the truth lies somewhere between the two.

The question of change cannot be settled merely by a factual investigation of whether or not there has been change.

Equally important is the question whether the Government is serious about change. These two are closely related, even if only because some maintain that the changes that have occurred are merely cosmetic and do not penetrate to the core of the country's problems.

In response to this one is inclined to shout: some cosmetics!

● Free trade unions, voting rights for Indians and coloureds, opening of business districts, scrapping of job reservation — is this merely cosmetic?

● That the Government is already talking of an umbrella political structure that will include white, brown and black — is this merely cosmetic?

● The proposed scrapping of the Mixed Marriages Act and the Immorality Act, including the consequences that will certainly affect the Group Areas Act and other similar Acts — is this merely cosmetic?

● That the Government wants to talk to blacks about their political future, wants to talk without an agenda, without prescription — is this cosmetic?

No, those who want to argue that there is no change in South Africa do not want change but rather a one-step recipe — one step to a black majority government, almost as if this is the only way to provide justice, prosperity and security for the black majority.

There IS change.

Reform, if it is to produce lasting results, should never be overhasty. And it can scarcely be that in South Africa, for it must be remembered that the Government that at the moment is removing discriminatory legislation is the very Government that introduced these laws in past decades.

It is almost as if one would have expected the southern United States to rid itself of segregation on its own — which did not happen, for it took court orders and action from the federal government to enforce desegregation. And even then the path was not easy.

In South Africa reform is being initiated by those who control power, who have to work against the will of a large

part of the electorate — and the reformers put their political leadership at stake. This is an important factor when the pace of reform is assessed.

There is also no doubt that change is keenly felt by the white man and that in his perception — or at any rate that of a significant number of white — movement has already occurred too far and too fast.

You have only to look at the most recent speeches of Dr A P Treurnicht and Professor Carel Boshoff. The one is the political leader and the other the cultural leader of those on the right, and both refer to the "selling out" of the whites.

This kind of language will strike a strong chord amongst the voters, possibly even strong enough to make the right wing the official Opposition in the next election.

It is hardly necessary to put up an argument for change as it affects coloureds and Indians. Just read the speeches of their parliamentary representatives and it will be realised that they are now in a position to decide on matters that relate to themselves — even though they cannot change everything overnight as they might wish.

The question is rather whether the black man feels there is any change.

There will certainly be those who think that there can be no change until the first step is taken on the road to a black government. But for the ordinary black man there have been changes — perhaps few and perhaps so leisurely that he does not perceive them as revolutionary. But local government has been introduced, education standards have been raised, salaries and wages have risen sharply, apartheid structures are crumbling, upward mobility has been facilitated.

Essential to all the speculation about change is the question whether the Government is sincere, or whether it is merely seeking another way of entrenching white control, a kind of apartheid with a sweetener.

The answer to this question is "yes" and "no."

The "yes" obviously derives from the fact that the Government feels that its previous approach of securing white privilege and maintaining Western standards has failed. Otherwise it would not have swerved away from its own past.

Just as obvious is the fact that it hopes the new path it has chosen will also secure white privileges and maintain Western standards — but this time it hopes to achieve this with other South Africans in one dispensation.

Herein resides the "no", because the new path has the same goal as the old one, but it breaks clear of separation and moves towards joint decision-making and living together in one country — even though it is not the one-man-one-vote situation in a one-party state demanded by those on the far left.

The path is strewn with rocks, the Government often stumbles on the way and sometimes steps back a little, but by and large it remains on the path. Whoever denies this wants something other than evolutionary change.

(Report by H Pakendorf, 28 Height Street, Doornfontein).

By MOSIUOA
"TERROR" LEKOTA
publicity secretary, Uni-
ted Democratic Front

THE United Democratic Front has two major objectives: to expose the serious shortcomings in the new constitutional dispensation and to pressure the Government into calling a national convention of all the people of South Africa that would lead to the adoption of a democratic constitution.

We in the UDF seek a negotiated settlement because we believe that the less bitter the methods adopted to resolve the present problem, the easier will be the process of reconciliation. The longer the Government resists a programme of guided negotiation, the more it creates the chance for a deepening of the conflict and acrimonious circumstances. The process of reconciliation then becomes more difficult.

The reason for the existence of the UDF is to help the various sections of the public to learn to live together, to move towards a democratic society with all participating.

The UDF will not participate in the forum announced by President Botha because that forum is founded on apartheid and does nothing to eliminate the problem. Certainly while acknowledged leaders like Nelson Mandela remain in prison there cannot be a solution capable of bringing about lasting peace. Consultation up to now has failed to eliminate armed conflict for this reason: we need a process of well-founded negotiation.

In a country where people carry arms to further their political aims, the non-violent UDF cannot be considered radical. Some black groups would

Continued —>

seek democracy not honesty, says publicity secretary

SAR+H Salaried Staff Association
South African Allied Workers Union
South African Engine Drivers,
Association
Firemen and Operators
Sporbond of the S.A. Transport
Association for Black Employees of the S.A. Transport

Talk of removing the discriminatory aspects of influx control is empty rhetoric. Influx control is by its very nature discriminatory since it is directed at Africans. The only way to remove discriminatory aspects of the policy is to eliminate it entirely.

The crisis confronting the Government is forcing it to make a number of statements that on the face of it appear to be steps in the right direction, but that do not bear closer scrutiny.

Consider the promise to equalise education among the races. Africans have to pay for schooling from the first year, but whites do not; the standard of black schools and the quality of teachers are low. Minister De Klerk's statement is laudable, but an equalisation simply cannot be effected in the foreseeable future given the racial economic imbalance, the present state of the eco-

nomy and resistance from the Afrikaner right wing.

The Government clearly perceives the need for reform, but is concerned about the Conservative Party. The promises made in Parliament cannot come to pass in the foreseeable future. The Government has done nothing to justify optimism.

The lack of confidence in the Government is not founded on rash youthful impatience. The history of interaction between the Government and the disenfranchised has shown repeatedly that the Government never really intends to meet our people half way.

We gave them a chance after the so-called national convention of 1909, after 1936 with the Native Representative Councils, in the South African Indian Council and the Coloured Representative Council, and at every turn the hopes of our

people were dashed.

For the past 75 years history is strewn with dashed hopes. Even the new dispensation, hailed in 1983, has already left the people in despair.

The present collapse of the black town councils (witness the resignations of councillors, the attacks on them and their property, the low polls in elections) is the result of a long history of disappointed hopes, of trust confidently placed in the Government that the Government has violated.

The Government should strive to create an atmosphere necessary for a national convention. Let the accepted leaders represent their constituencies, black and white, let there be representation on the basis of popular support, and let us create an open forum for all the peoples of South Africa without exception.

(Report by M Lekota, 42 de Villiers St, Johannesburg.)



Mr M LEKOTA

cannot participate in the forum.

Apartheid undermines the economic development of the country as a whole, thereby retarding the economic benefit to all. The President talks of freehold rights to urban blacks. But what is the meaning of freehold while the 1936 Land Act restricts African land ownership? The Acts themselves must be scrapped so that Africans are free to own land anywhere and so that there will be no more forced removals.

political change
two articles, one
the largest political
the other by the
per. They are re-
foundation News.

deny a place for whites in their new society but we in the UDF will want to go for a negotiated settlement, with rights for black and white. We are, I believe, the most reconciliatory black organisation presently operating. To ignore the UDF now is to ignore the most meaningful black initiative.

We cannot accept the division of Africans into urban and rural, firstly because this implies the continued disenfranchisement of the African majority confined to these areas.

The homeland structures were imposed by Pretoria and never enjoyed legitimacy in the eyes of the people. Secondly, these areas remain utterly unviable economically and can never stand on their own. Since the homelands are accepted by the forum, we

ST
University of Cape Town
Weskapspe Profstof en
Western Cape Administration Board
Western Province Sweet Workers Union
Worcester Municipale Werkerenemersvereinging
Chemiese Operateursvakbond
South African Allied Workers Union
South African Engine Drivers Association
Firemen and Operators
Sporbond of the S.A. Transport Association for Black Employees of the S.A. Transport

CAPE TIMES 8/4/85 114

Man says initiate was disembowelled, burnt

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — A 21-year-old Uitenhage mkhweta (initiate) has told of his horror at witnessing the disembowelling of a fellow initiate and the fatal shooting of another by rival factions from the strife-torn town.

The mkhweta, who asked to be identified only by his circumcision school nickname, Danayi, also claimed that a mob, using a penknife, had re-circumcised the seven initiates attending the three-week school.

No knowledge

The SA Police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, Lieutenant-Colonel Gerrie van Rooyen, said last week that none of the allegations had been reported to the police, who had no knowledge of them. But he said the matter would be looked into.

According to Danayi, the trouble, which spanned four days, started on Wednesday March 27 when a businessman from Kwanobuhle, Uitenhage, sought refuge at the secluded initiation school in a forest four kilometres from Kwanobuhle. He was fleeing a township faction which had threatened him with death.

Danayi claimed that when initiates protested at his presence at the school, because they feared repercussions, he shot two of them, killing one. A relative of the initiate injured in the shooting supported the allegation.

Danayi said that on Thursday March 28 a group of about 300 youths who had learnt of the businessman's hideout arrived at the school. On failing to find the businessman, they proceeded to disembowel one of the initiates before

suspending his body from a tree and burning it, Danayi said.

He added that the mob had accused this initiate of being one of the businessman's bodyguards. According to Danayi, they then set upon the remaining initiates, re-circumcising them.

'Miraculous getaway'

"I made a miraculous getaway, and returned home to find that our house had been gutted. Also, a shop run by my brother, who is a policeman, had been petrol-bombed."

Danayi, who was still under sedation when he told of his experience, said the mob had forced him to watch from a makeshift hut as they cremated his friend while he was still alive.

"In the scorching heat produced by the burning tyres they used for their fire, I was forced to watch, without showing any sympathy, as he was reduced to ashes, screaming in agony."

Danayi was still suffering from shock when he was interviewed at a doctor's surgery where he was receiving treatment for injuries received when the mob tried to circumcise him a second time.

On Tuesday last week he was admitted to Livingstone Hospital for treatment of lacerations.

Surviving mkhweta

The surviving mkhweta came from the Mnuno family, he said. A relative, Mr Velile Mnuno, who lives in Sedidisho Street, Kwanobuhle, confirmed that the initiate had been hospitalized with a stomach shot wound.

He said the young man was shot after the businessman accused him of supporting mobs who had gutted the homes of Kwanobuhle community councillors.

Kiwis won't be deterred — Blazey

London Bureau

LONDON. — Threats from the United Democratic Front (UDF) would not deter the All Blacks from touring South Africa, the chairman of the New Zealand Rugby Union, Mr Cez Blazey, said yesterday.

He was responding to warnings by the UDF that the tour could lead to violence if police employed strong-arm tactics to try and prevent anti-apartheid activists in the country from demonstrating against the tour.

Speaking on the BBC, Mr Blazey angrily denounced the notion that sport should be "used" as a vehicle to solve political problems.

At a meeting on April 17 his union would consider all the "problems" surrounding the proposed tour, including the vehement opposition to it by the New Zealand Prime Minister, Mr David Lange.

Mr Lange said yesterday his meetings with South African and South West African guerrilla leaders did not imply that he condoned their violent methods, reports Sapa-Reuter from Lusaka.

After talks with Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda, Mr Lange said his planned talks yesterday with officials of Swapo "does not make the policy of Swapo the policy of the New Zealand Government".

Yesterday Mr Lange had talks with the ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo.

UDF threatens mass protests

11A RDM 9/4/85

By ANTON HARBER
Political Reporter

THE United Democratic Front (UDF) ended its first annual conference at Krugersdorp this weekend with a pledge to open "a new phase" in mass protest action that would amount to a civil disobedience campaign.

The planned New Zealand rugby tour was named as the first target of such action.

The UDF conference also passed a strong resolution on foreign investment, which stopped just short of calling on foreign companies to disinvest from South Africa.

It is understood that they did not call for disinvestment only for fear that such a call would be illegal.

The UDF also pledged to build a closer relationship with the trade unions and reiterated a commitment to non-violent action.

The two-day conference, held in the Indian township of Azaadville, also approved a new constitution for the UDF, elected new leaders and re-elected many of the old ones.

Addressing a Press conference afterwards, Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, who was re-elected national publicity secretary, said the time had come for "a new level of assault on the current dispensation".

He said the UDF remained committed to a non-violent approach and there was still time for the Government to consult with authentic black

leaders to dismantle apartheid and arrange "the transfer of power to the people".

However, UDF strategy would involve more mass action.

"We will take up issues and challenge them time and time again. We will not be satisfied with making Press statements.

"Each time we take up an issue, we will not hesitate to take our activists and march in the streets.

"We will find ways in which our people, in action and in practice, can say 'no,'" he said.

Mr Lekota and Mr Popo Molefe, who was re-elected national general secretary, declined to give details of what was planned.

They cited the New Zealand rugby tour as their first target and referred to the recent protest at the Johannesburg offices of Citibank as an example of such actions.

A new UDF constitution created the post of an executive chairman.

This will now be the key leadership position below the largely symbolic presidency.

The first executive chairman is Mr Curnick Ndlovu, a member of the Release Mandela Committee and a long-standing trade unionist from Natal.

He was recently released after serving a 20-year sentence on Robben Island for ANC activities.

Two people currently facing treason charges, Mrs Albertina Sisulu and Mr Archie Gumede, will share the presidency.

Cape Times 8/4/85 (11A)

Rioting in SA now tragically 'commonplace'

LONDON. — Probably the most vilified photograph in Africa today is that of policeman Lieutenant John Fouche who, according to evidence given at the Kannemeyer commission of inquiry, gave the order that ended in the shooting of 19 blacks a fortnight ago.

Another face, though not as well known now, is that of the Rev Sam Buti, the mayor of Alexandria. He recently had his house bombed and his collection of theological works destroyed by a group of young blacks.

Lt Fouche, seeing a crowd, a stone and some excitement believed a massacre of whites to be imminent. The black youths more than 1 000 km away in Alexandria, urged on by yells of accusation, were persuaded that Mr Buti was aiding and abetting the whites.

These are two simple examples of the sort of evidence which is being generally invoked to undertake drastic action and form violent judgments in the Republic over the last month or so.

Nobody on one side or another has been in any mood but anger and fear to judge what is going on in the beloved country.


Paper with largest black readership

A South African spokesman in London, required to evaluate a sort of popularity poll undertaken by the City Press in Johannesburg, commented: "The City Press is a rather minor paper."

It is the paper with the largest black readership in the country. Its importance depends whether you live in a white suburb in the middle of Johannesburg or in a shantytown on its outer fringes.

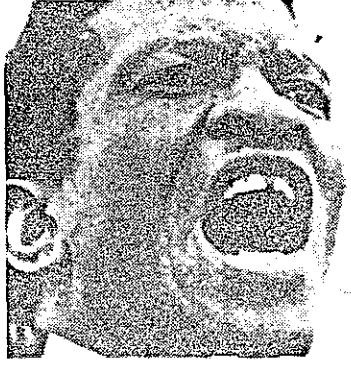
Of course those making up their minds about what is going on in most parts of the world will have had to depend on long strips of film rather than a series of black-and-white photographs.

South Africans will have had to go by a sequence of excited pictures of angry youths kick-



Africa Report

By ANTHONY DELIUS



Rev Sam Buti



Lt John Fouche

ing at smoking bombs and waving fists at knots of policemen bristling with guns.

Such scenes seem to have been going for the last six weeks and coming continuously from places as far apart as Uitenhage and the Cape Flats.

The Guardian Weekly summed it all up resignedly with the headline comment: "The shock is that it is commonplace." The hopelessness of the scene seems to be that it goes on and on.

The South African scene has become "commonplace" and never-ending, with streets filled with enraged mobs, burning buildings, policemen taking aim, and concerned citizens praying over lit candles.

Even among the wisest and best-willed observers in the

West there is a tendency to let the dreary fight between black and white continue until moral exhaustion sets in on both sides.

The Economist at the end of last month had an almost world-weary leader on apartheid, drawing attention to an 18-page article discussing how to fight apartheid by the easiest method, i.e. by not seeming to fight it at all.

There is a great deal of common sense in the article, advocating drawing of South African industry into steadily applying the Sullivan and the EEC codes of good employment.

The Economist claims that "all the posturings at the United Nations, on Massachusetts

Avenue or in Trafalgar Square have not done half as much for black advancement as the steady industrialization of South Africa, much of it through foreign capital and foreign managerial contact."

The man who led the American effort to slide South Africa almost invisibly out of the thralls of apartheid into the economic common sense of the modern industrial practice of the EEC and Mr Sullivan was Dr Chester Crocker, a professor from Georgetown University who has a Rhodesian wife.

In his capacity of Assistant Secretary of State for Africa he formed around him a dedicated group of officials, and they laboured night and day to engage South Africa "constructively".

Get their sides so close together

But the necessity to force the pace to satisfy the contingencies of American domestic policies and calm South African suspicions left behind in Mr P W Botha's bosom by dealings with Dr Henry Kissinger, did create too many snares for "constructive engagers" on both sides.

The fact that the South African and American negotiating parties managed to get their sides so close together before landing one another so deeply in the mud still leaves some room for hope.

Their intentions were good, even if their rating of themselves were over-inflated, and there is no reason why they shouldn't try again.

Perhaps they might do so in better company. Or maybe it was the company they did it in that got them so wrong-footed in the end.

However, as the admirable writer of the article in the Economist says with a certain moral reservation, South Africa's present rulers have survived a quarter of a century since Sharpeville, and it will probably survive a quarter of a century from Uitenhage.

They may even learn some restraint in that time.

AUCKLAND. — The All Blacks will not be allowed to go to South Africa if there is a possibility that the rugby players could be injured by anti-tour protesters.

The chairman of the New Zealand Rugby Council, Mr Ces Blazey, was reacting today to threats by the United Democratic Front that protests against the proposed tour would be mounted if the All Blacks travelled to South Africa.

UDF spokesmen said at the weekend that violent police action against demonstrators was a distinct possibility and the tourists would be to blame for any blood that might be spilt.

Mr Blazey said a spokesman for the African National Congress had been quoted in New Zealand as saying that if anyone got hurt on tour it would not be a consideration for himself or his supporters.

Safety in jeopardy

"I would say," Mr Blazey said "that that man has been condemned out of his own mouth.

"We are talking now about a tour which, if it is to be sanctioned by the council at a meeting next Wednesday, could not possibly occur before mid-July.

"If there was any question that the safety of the All Blacks was in jeopardy we would make inquiries and if there were any doubts we would not let them go."

Mr Blazey has been under siege since the Prime Minister, Mr Dave Lange, now in Botswana, told the council they must not proceed with the tour.

Today the Deputy-Prime Minister, Mr Geoff Palmer, released a letter he had sent to the council in reply to the council's request for clarification of Mr Lange's statement.

Mr Palmer made four points stressing that the council should not accept the invitation for the tour.

- The undermining of New Zealand's reputation in the international community.

- The damage that could be done to New Zealand in the international sporting community.

- The likely recurrence of the divisions which spread through the country while the Springboks were touring in 1981.

- The damage which would be done to race relations in New Zealand.

Mr Blazey said it was interesting that within 24 hours of the Prime Minister's original statement which demanded that the council must not proceed with the tour, Mr Palmer had acknowledged that the government had no real authority to stop the tour if the invitation were to be accepted.

Mr Blazey declined to comment on the Palmer letter.

"That is a matter" he said, "for the councillors to decide. None of them has yet has seen the letter."

- The South African Ministry of Law and Order confirmed today that the All Blacks would be given police protection should they tour, reports The Argus Political Staff.

Colonel Leon Mellet, spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said the police would protect the team as it would any other visitors to South Africa.

The police were expected to maintain law and order and they would enforce it strictly, regardless who broke it and where, he said.

- The Irish Government will oppose any involvement by Ireland in the rugby World Cup due to be held in Australia and New Zealand in 1987 if the two governments should change their policy and allow South Africa to compete, the Irish Times reported today.

From TERRY McLEAN
Argus Correspondent

Tour off if demos a threat to All Blacks

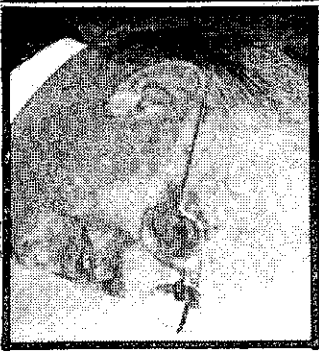
ARGUS

2/4/85

[Handwritten signatures and initials]

Orderly gatherings of millions

ANDRE MEYEROWITZ of the Argus Political Staff looks at Zion City and the Zion Christian Church. More than two million members of the church were addressed by the State President, Mr P W Botha.



Mr P W Botha

THE SIGN at the gates of Zion City says in bold letters: "Non-Europeans and Europeans are not allowed to take photographs or news. Non-members to report to non-members' office."

at the entrance. Selected journalists — European and non-European — were invited to record the visit of the State President, Mr P W Botha, during the annual Easter celebration. Those without special gold-scripted invitations were turned away.

and happy crowd of millions of pilgrims. Church sources said there were 4-million, provincial traffic officers reckoned about 3-million and most of the invited newsmen settled for "more than 2-million".

The precise figure can probably never be determined. A host of church adherents gathered in the valley in front of the roofed podium where dignitaries sat.

Many more milled in the

Peaceful it certainly was, as ZCC marshals controlled a vast

Just inside the gates there is another sign: "You are peacefully welcome."

Blacks, whites 'must talk to each other'

Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Blacks and whites had to talk to each other but had to stand together against "messengers of evil", the State President, Mr P W Botha, told the biggest crowd ever gathered in South Africa.

Mr Botha was speaking yesterday at the annual Easter celebration of the Zion Christian Church in Moria, near Pietersburg.

More than 2-million blacks made the pilgrimage to Moria to hear him and to celebrate the indigenous church's 75th anniversary.

Members of the ZCC frequently punctuated his address with applause.

Mr Botha said black and white should strive jointly to find solutions to South Africa's problems.

He said: "No single community can be the only winner. We must be winners together or we shall all be losers."

"There is no more place for hatred and fear, no more time for suspicion and conflict."

"In the past we have not really talked to each other. Let us come together and talk to each other, let us start listening to each other as we are doing now."

'Learn from past'

Mr Botha told his vast audience that it was necessary to learn from the past to avoid past mistakes.

In an apparent reference to the banned ANC and other activists he warned against "forces of darkness" which he said stood in the way of peaceful development.

"We must not tolerate people who come from far away with evil minds to kill and injure innocent people."

"We must not allow them to burn our houses and destroy our property — we must all stand together against these messengers of evil."

"We must also have trust in our mutual intentions. Until we learn to really trust each other we shall not be able to realise our full potential," Mr Botha said.

The head of the Zion church, Bishop B E Lekganyana, gave Mr Botha a scroll conferring honorary citizenship of Moria.

Mr Botha said: "To me this is a symbol of the peace and love I see here today and also the peace I would like to see as a huge blanket covering South Africa and our neighbouring countries."

dusty roadway leading to the stage. Countless thousands teemed on the mountain slopes or found shade under trees and next to the buses which had brought them from many parts of the country as well as neighbouring states.

Some camped for the weekend, others just made do in the open air. Food was provided but most of the pilgrims brought their own.

Everything was orderly as the multitude waited for Mr Botha and his wife Elize to arrive by helicopter at a makeshift landing pad.

The head of the church, His Grace the Right Rev Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane, went to the landing pad in an extra-long American limousine to greet his visitors. On the short drive from there back to the podium, Mr and Mrs Botha looked pleased and happy as they acknowledged warm applause from the throng, its members dressed mainly in uniforms of lemon-yellow and dark green.

Bishop Lekganyane gave Mr Botha a scroll conferring on him the first-ever honorary citizenship of Moria "in appreciation of his efforts to spread peace and love and to prove the high esteem in which he is held".

Again there was applause, and a South African Government aide commented as an aside: "Bishop Tutu can eat his heart out."

The Zion Christian Church, with about 5-million adherents, has a nominally Reformed Protestant stance but weaves traditional African customs into its services. Some theologians see it as an interesting alternative for black Christians who do not feel at home in conventional western churches.

Conservative

Although it shuns political activism, it is clearly a conservative body. Bishop Lekganyane — his grandfather founded the ZCC 75 years ago — believes in respect for authority.

He says: "A Christian must recognise that civil government is of Divine appointment. It is not for the individual to judge the law, it is for the individual to obey the law."

"This is what I always teach and stress as the spiritual head of Zion Christian Church. This is what has built this church to be as strong as it is."

Mr Botha told his mass audience: "You have a sincere and healthy lifestyle. You respect law, order and authority. I

have come to tell you that we see this — we respect you for this."

Before going in to a private lunch with Bishop Lekganyane, Mr Botha gave him a leather-bound Afrikaans Bible.

"May you and your church continue to prosper," he said.

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Press slips 119

UDF threat may affect tour decision

Cape Times
9/4/85
117

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A threat by the United Democratic Front to fight the New Zealand rugby tour of South Africa is a new factor that could affect a decision on the tour's future.

If the UDF threat to take demonstrations "to the airports and to the playing fields" is carried out, it will be the first time a visiting sports team has faced active local opposition.

The threat has brought strong words from the chairman of the New Zealand Rugby Union, Mr Ces Blazey. He said the UDF was discriminating against his country by choosing only their team as a target.

He said he was not aware of protests against other sports events in South Africa, including last year's tour by an England rugby team.

At the UDF's first annual general conference held at the weekend, a resolution was passed warning that the UDF would view any tour of South Africa by a New Zealand team as "complicity in the crime of apartheid".

It resolved to act with other organizations inside and outside the country to mobilize mass resistance to the tour.

"If this tour comes off, we will take our activists to the airports and the playing fields and we will demonstrate clearly that our people do not want these tours," said the UDF publicity secretary, Mr Patrick Lekota.

● The two-day confer-

ence, held in the Indian township of Azaadville, also approved a new constitution for the UDF, elected new leaders and re-elected many others.

Addressing a press conference afterwards, Mr Lekota, who was re-elected, said the time had come for "a new level of assault on the current dispensation".

Mr Lekota and Mr Popo Molefe, who was re-elected national general secretary, declined to give details of what was planned.

Mr Lekota said the UDF remained committed to a non-violent approach and there was still time for the government to consult with authentic black leaders to dismantle apartheid.

A new UDF constitution created the post of an executive chairman, which will now be the key leadership position below the largely symbolic presidency.

The first executive chairman is Mr Curnick Ndlovu, a member of the Release Mandela Committee and a long-standing trade unionist from Natal. He was recently released after serving a 20-year sentence on Robben Island for ANC activities.

Two people currently facing treason charges, Mrs Albertina Sisulu and Mr Archie Gumede, will share the presidency. The third president, Mr Oscar Mpetha, of Cape Town, was not re-elected.

● Lange vows to stop Boks, page 11

UDF's stand against racism

By ALI MPHAKI

THE UNITED Democratic Front resolved to re-structure the organisation with a view of strengthening more than ever its campaign against apartheid at its annual general council held at Azaadville near Randfontein at the weekend.

About 400 delegates attended the three-day council, resolving to have 16 executives instead of the 39 they had, and introducing a new position of executive chairman. Mr Curnic Ndlovu was elected into the position.

Mr Archie Gumede and Mrs Albertinah Sisulu, presently facing treason charges in Durban, were both unanimously elected into the presidency of the organisation.

Mr Mosioua Lekota was retained as publicity secretary and Mr Popo Molefi is still general secretary of the organisation.

Other elected executives are: Mr Azhar Cachalia, Mr Oliver Mohapi, Mr Zolie Malindi, Mr Mohamed Vally, Mr Jomo Khasu, Mr Titus Mafolo, Mr Derrick Swart, Mr Edgar Ngoyi, Mr Johnson Nkgaso, Mr Steven Tshoedi, Mr Trevor Manuels, the Rev Mcebisi Xundu and detained Eastern Cape priest, the Rev M Stofile.

The council, whose theme was "From Protest to Challenge . . . Mobilisation to Organisation", made the following demands:

- The immediate scrapping of the 1913 and



FRONT: New executive members of the United Democratic Front.

1936 Land Acts and all Group Areas laws, and an end to any form of forced removals.

- The dissolution of the bantustans and the ending of the migratory labour system.

- The scrapping of the tri-cameral parliament and all other puppet bodies created under the Black Local Authorities Act and other instruments of racist rule.

- A unified and democratic education system.

- The repeal of the pass laws and all other restrictions on freedom of

movement.

- The right of workers to freely organise in trade unions, to collectively bargain and the right to strike without being penalised, the right to security of employment, housing, social welfare, pensions and maternity benefits, as laid down in the United Nations Human Rights Covenants and the Charters of the In-

ternational Labour Organisation.

- The release of all political prisoners, the unbanning of the banned individuals and organisations, the return of exiles and the lifting of all restrictions on freedom of speech and assembly.

- The disbanding of the SADF, KOEVOET, the SAP and all other repressive apparatus.

- The scrapping of all barbaric security laws which violate the fundamental freedoms set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The council analysed the organisations' weaknesses, recognising its weaknesses in the process.

Delegates resolved to increase the effective-

ness and democratic content of the organisation, to raise the quality of the leadership and activists, to translate "our living experiences among our people during struggle for viable programmes and to transcend the constraints of regional differences".

The Reagan administration also came under fire with the council de-

manding an end to US and British collaboration with the apartheid regime of South Africa.

The council also reaffirmed its total opposition to any form of imperialism, including any attempts to undermine the sovereignty and independence of states or any measures taken to undermine any peoples' struggle for national liberation.

Azapo indaba slams SA's 'exploitation'

THE PRESENT "capitalist and racist" system of education in South Africa entrenched exploitation and oppression of the black masses — and must be abolished.

This resolution was passed at the education seminar called by the Azanian People's Organisation held at the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre, Roodepoort, at the weekend.

The seminar endorsed Azapo's policy of education that is aimed at establishing an education system that will respond to the creative needs of "all Azanians".

Azapo's president Mr Ishmael Mkhabela said the education struggle for the masses should be seen as part of the national liberation struggle.

Azapo rejected the existing curriculum and

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

syllabi; the administration of education and other education issues which were highlighted and discussed by the delegates.

Recommendations arrived at the seminar, which culminated in a workshop, are to be processed by Azapo's secretariat and presented to the organisation's national council, according to Mr Mkhabela.

Meanwhile at a separate meeting in Soweto at the weekend, Azapo pledged solidarity with

the people of Uitenhage, Crossroads, Cradock, Langa and other communities in fighting for their struggle against "police brutality".

The meeting, also attended by Azanian Student Movement (Azasm) Black Women Unite (BWU), Uitenhage Black Civic Association and leaders of trade unions, resolved to condemn the various commissions of enquiry into unrests in the country.

The large-scale unrest was caused by coun-

cillors' refusal to resign, rent increases, councillors' "intransigent attitude" in refusing residents the right to make use of communities' halls and churches.

SIA (2)
9/14/85
**Azapo told
reason for
the unrest**

By Michael Tissong

The economic and educational crises as well as rent increases were the main causes of the unrest in the Eastern Cape, a Uitenhage Black Civic Organisation member, Mr Mthembu Dano, said in Soweto yesterday.

He told the Azanian People's Organisation meeting that the refusal by councillors to heed the community's call to resign from the township council and the "provocative acts by councillors in banning local groups from using community halls for meetings and their use of firearms" were also seen by residents as intolerable.

Other speakers from Black Women Unite, the Azanian Student Movement, the Alliance of Black Free Trade Unions and Azapo disputed the police figures of casualties in the unrest.

The Azapo central committee said it investigated the unrest and found that the casualty figure was far higher than the 40 quoted.

Blacks 'in large numbers' support PW at meeting

ARGUS 9/4/85

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NEW YORK. — President P W Botha's presence at the annual gathering of the Zion Christian Church has been given major prominence in the American media.

Even the New York Times, which is invariably highly critical of South Africa, yesterday admitted that "it showed blacks in large numbers supporting him".

Television reports took a similar line. A reporter for ABC television network, said the meeting was an indication of black support for the president and for the cause of moderation.

The New York Times report is published prominently on the newspaper's front page under the headline "Botha, in address to a black sect, warns against evil from abroad".

"Forces of darkness"

The reporter, Richard Bernstein, writes: "A huge throng of blacks who belong to a Christian sect gathered in an Easter celebration on a remote hillside today and heard President P W Botha warn against 'forces of darkness' from outside South Africa."

He quotes Mr Botha as saying: "The forces of darkness must be kept out of our country. We shall not tolerate people who come from far away with evil minds to kill and injure innocent people. We must not allow them to burn our houses and destroy our property."

The report continues: "Mr Botha was speaking at the annual gathering of the Zion Christian Church which, with some five million members, is the largest religious group in this country. The church preaches non-violence and is believed to acquiesce in, if not actually support, apartheid. The audience applauded Mr Botha after virtually every phrase.

"His appearance before the group was unusual because of the size of his audience and the remoteness of the location and because it showed blacks in large numbers supporting him. Some published reports said as many as three million people were present, although some foreign reporters cast doubt on those figures," the report said.

SA officials "delighted"

Reports of the ZCC gathering provide the United States with a counterpoint to the months of publicity for Bishop Desmond Tutu and church-led demonstrations associated with him and other religious leaders.

South African officials in the United States scarcely concealed their delight with the reports and one said: "The poor anti-South Africa demonstrators here must be really confused now."

Another South African official said the potential impact of the ZCC's reception of President Botha "is so great, and so telling, that what we must expect now is an all-out attempt to discredit the ZCC and its leader".

He said: "I have no doubt what we're going to see is a major propaganda effort in this direction by the anti-South African movement in the United States." — Sapa.

MAG 45 2/4/85

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UDF: 'Protest spontaneous'

The Argus Johannesburg correspondent analyses the effect of the conference of the United Democratic Front held on the West Rand at the weekend.

THOSE who believe the "instigator" explanation for the unremitting township unrest would have been astonished had they eavesdropped on the United Democratic Front national conference at the weekend.

They would have heard more than 300 delegates to the West Rand gathering tangling with the problem that "in many areas organisations trail behind the masses thus making it difficult for disciplined mass action to take place".

They would have heard protest in the townships described as "spontaneous" rather than orchestrated in many cases.

And they would also have learnt that the UDF — that broad grouping of organisations conceived just two years ago — is determined to deepen its roots in the townships, to play a leadership role in direct mass action and that it has trimmed its organisational structure to make it more re-

sponsive to urgent local demands.

At the end of the conference, publicity secretary Mr Terror Lekota said: "We remain entirely committed to the non-violent approach" but added that the organisation would engage increasingly in mass action and would not content itself with issuing press statements on issues.

"The struggle must be placed in the hands of the people. We are not here to struggle on behalf of the people but with them."

Mr Lekota indicated that much of the mass action would be protest directed at local and foreign targets. "The UDF will go into the streets time and time again," said Mr Lekota.

Direct moves were also likely to take the form of supportive action around groups under threat — for instance, in the case of forced removals.

And, although there was no direct threat of further work stayaways the recent stay-at-

home organised in the Eastern Cape as a protest against rises in controlled prices was held up as an example of successful mass action.

Mr Lekota said civil disobedience was not quite the right label for what the front had in mind because the term implied a general recognition for the law. "There is no law in South Africa which deserves our respect because we have not participated in making the laws," he said.

General secretary Mr Popo Molefe drew a distinction between the UDF's present view of mass action and the defiance campaign of the 1950s. The present aims were more far-reaching than the old goal of clogging the machinery of justice, he admitted.

He described the UDF's goals as threefold: to isolate the State increasingly from the people, to isolate the South African Government from the international community and

to deepen the schism between the junior and senior partners in Parliament so that the tricameral system might collapse.

While committing itself to this course of popular action, the UDF general council still addressed itself to Pretoria, listing its immediate demands for a "process of transition from the prevailing oppressive and exploitative order to a democratic state".

These included the immediate repeal of all apartheid legislation, the abolition of the present instruments of state control and the release of political prisoners.

It insisted that, if apartheid were abandoned, "not one more drop of blood need be shed". But only paragraphs later it reflected a different reality in pledging itself "to organise our people to effectively challenge the apartheid state by frustrating its efforts, preventing its advance, forcing its retreat and — if possible — cutting off all its lines of retreat".

Warning of street protests against All Black tour

THE United Democratic Front said at the weekend that it would mobilise people in street protests against the All Black rugby players if the tour of South Africa went ahead.

"This is one tour which would take our activists to the airports and the sports fields of this country," said UDF publicity secretary Mr Terror Lekota.

Mr Lekota's statements were made at the end of the national conference of the UDF, held in Azaadville on the West Rand. More than 300 delegates adopted a resolution that there could be no normal sport in an abnormal society and warning

that any New Zealand rugby tour of South Africa would be regarded as "complicity in the crime of apartheid".

The UDF has aligned itself with the South African Council on Sport (Sacos) and all other local and foreign groups opposing "rebel tours".

It has also appealed directly to New Zealand Prime Minister Mr David Lange. "We hope he and other progressive New Zealanders will be able to persuade the rugby union to abandon the tour," said Mr Lekota, adding that relations between the people of the two countries could be "bedevilled beyond the order of apartheid".

Banned since '60 but still a force

Cape Times 9/4/85

11A

By BARRY STREEK

TODAY, 25 years ago, a new era in South African politics began when the government, in the wake of the Sharpeville killings and the subsequent demonstrations throughout the country, banned the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC).

As a result of that action, the ANC and the PAC could no longer operate legally in South Africa, and both organizations adopted violence to oppose apartheid.

There have been ups and downs in the incidence of violence since April 9, 1960, but what is beyond doubt is that violence has become a feature of South African politics ever since then.

Last week, the Commissioner of the South African Police, General PJ Coetzee, paid an indirect tribute to the ANC's use of violence when he blamed the organization — and the South African Communist Party — for the unrest in black townships throughout the country over the last seven months.

Revolutionary onslaught

General Coetzee told a University of Pretoria graduation ceremony that, for various reasons, South Africa was still facing a violent revolutionary onslaught lead by the ANC and the SA Communist Party. The onslaught, he said, was being felt in the political, social, economic and military fields.

"What we have in South Africa is a type of hit-and-run operation insofar as relatively small groups of rioters spread their acts of violence over a wide geographical area, then disperse quickly to re-group elsewhere to continue their actions," General Coetzee said.

If this interpretation is correct, it can only mean that the ANC has established a widespread underground organization which is capable of manipulating the disturbances which began at Sharpeville early in September last year and have continued ever since, resulting in the deaths of some 300 people and extensive damage to property — R25,5 million to buildings and R9,6 million to vehicles, according to General Coetzee.

It also implies that violence is not going to disappear. Indeed, General Coetzee said South Africa could not expect the onslaught on all fronts to diminish.

Sharp contrast

His warning was in sharp contrast to two ministerial pronouncements towards the end of last year. In November, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said he was confident that the unrest "is calming down progressively"; and a month later the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said developments in South Africa and the country's improving international relations had made organizations such as the ANC realize their role was rapidly coming to an end.

One possible scenario for the future is, in the circumstances, that violent opposition to government race policies, and the equally violent suppression of that opposition, will continue until one or other side wins. It could

indeed develop into a full-scale civil war where the chances of negotiation and less violence will diminish as conflict intensifies.

Whichever way one looks at it, recent events in the black townships seem to have increased the possibilities of this scenario.

There is another possible pattern for the future, however: That the government and the banned ANC negotiate some deal which could eventually end, or drastically reduce, the use of violence.

In spite of some widely optimistic reporting at the end of last year and the beginning of this year, there seems

little chance, officially, that such a deal is possible in the immediate future.

Both sides eschew any prospect of negotiations at present.

As far as the ANC is concerned, the government is responsible for the conditions that forced it to adopt violence as one of its strategies, and the government must therefore take the first steps to change those conditions.

As far as the government is concerned, the ANC must first renounce violence. Mr Le Grange has said that if the ANC does renounce violence, the government will talk to it.

But the ANC believes that the government wants a surrender, not a truce or an agreement. When I visited Lusaka in February and met some key ANC officials, including its president, Oliver Tambo, I was told that a truce was negotiable, but after 25 years of armed struggle the ANC was not going to surrender.

ANC demands

The ANC also demands the end of the ban on it, the release of all political prisoners, the disarming of policemen and the confining of the army to barracks. They appear to be demands that the government will not accept or negotiate at present.

The public stance of both sides therefore seem to rule out any likelihood of a settlement. ANC-stimulated violence, internal conflict and increasing international pressure on South Africa will be the short-term result if this is the case.

Beneath the surface, however, there are some other signs. They have been reflected by the government's changing position towards the jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela. Two years ago President P W Botha was emphatically rejecting calls for his release; this year he made a conditional offer of release to Nelson Mandela.

Until this year, virtually nothing was heard about the views of Nelson Mandela. But this year, Lord Bethell, the British politician, was allowed to interview him and permission was granted for that interview to be re-published here. His rejection of President Botha's offer of release was also published. An interview with Oliver Tambo in a Harare newspaper was allowed to be quoted in South Africa.

Some discussion

In a sense, therefore, some discussion about the ANC has been permitted.

These developments have helped to change the atmosphere a little and at least promote the possibility of a less-violent future.

Of course, much more will have to take place before that possibility can have any chance of becoming a reality.

The president of the Black Sash, Mrs Sheena Duncan, has called for a "dramatic gesture" by the government such as the scrapping of the pass laws.

After my visit to Lusaka, I became convinced that an unequivocal statement by the government that everyone in South Africa, including people in the "independent" homelands, had an equal right to be South Africans and to participate in the governing of their country, would be seen as a positive gesture within ANC circles.

What seems quite clear is that the perpetuation of current trends and developments can only result in continuing violence in South Africa.

The banning of the ANC and PAC 25 years ago brought direct violence into South African politics. The most urgent question now is surely how to end that violence before everyone in South Africa suffers from its consequences.

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9/4/85

UDF aims to lead local communities in direct mass action

Those who believe The Instigator Explanation for the unremitting township unrest would have been astonished had they eavesdropped on the United Democratic Front national conference at the weekend.

They would have heard more than 300 delegates to the West Rand gathering tangling with the problem that in many areas organisations trail behind the masses, making mass action difficult.

They would have heard protest in the townships described as spontaneous rather than orchestrated in many cases.

And they would also have learnt that the United Democratic Front, that broad grouping of organisations conceived just two years ago, is determined to deepen its roots in the townships and play a leadership role in direct mass action

By Jo-Anne Collinge

... and that it has trimmed its organisational structure to make it more responsive to urgent local demands.

At the end of the conference, publicity secretary Mr Terror Lekota said: "We remain entirely committed to the non-violent approach."

He added that the organisation would engage increasingly in mass action and would not content itself with issuing Press statements on issues.

"The struggle must be placed in the hands of the people," said Mr Lekota.

"We are not here to struggle on behalf of the people but with them."

Mr Lekota indicated that much of the mass action would be protest directed at local and foreign targets.

"The UDF will go into the streets time and time again," he said.

Direct moves were likely to take the form of supportive action around groups under threat; for instance, in the case of forced removals.

And although there was no direct threat of further work stayaways, the recent stay-home organised in the Eastern Cape as a protest against rises in controlled prices was held up as an example of successful mass action.

Mr Lekota noted that civil disobedience was not quite the right label for what the front had in mind, because the term implied a general recognition for the law.

"There is no law in South Africa which deserves our respect because we have not participated in making the laws," he said.

General secretary Mr Popo Molefe drew a distinction between the United Democratic Front's present view of mass action and the Defiance Campaign of the 1950s.

The present aims were more far-reaching than the old goal of clogging the machinery of justice, he admitted.

He described the Front's goals as threefold:

- To isolate the State increasingly from the people.

- To isolate the South African Government from the international community.

- To deepen the schism between the junior and senior partners in Parliament so that the tricameral system might collapse.

While committing itself to this course of popular action, the United

Democratic Front general council still addressed itself to Pretoria, listing its immediate demands for a process of transition from the prevailing oppressive and exploitative order to a democratic state.

These included immediate repeal of all apartheid legislation, abolition of the present instruments of State control and the release of political prisoners.

The general council insisted that if apartheid were abandoned not one more drop of blood need be shed.

But only paragraphs later it reflected a different reality in pledging itself to organise its people to challenge effectively the apartheid State by frustrating its efforts, preventing its advance, forcing its retreat and if possible cutting off all its lines of retreat.

PW's bid to widen his black support

RDM 10/4/85

PATRICK LAURENCE, Political Editor

THE PRESENCE of President P W Botha at the Easter weekend 75th anniversary celebrations of the black separatist Zionist Christian Church (ZCC) underlined a reality which critics of apartheid often ignore: the ruling National Party, and even its ideology of separate development, has not been unsuccessful in winning black support.

The difficulty, however, lies not so much in recognising that Mr Botha has won the backing, or at the very least the political neutrality, of sections of the black community.

The real problem is to assess the depth and significance of their support, irrespective of whether it is of an active or passive nature.

The first point to make is that the sympathetic alignment of the NP and the ZCC is not new.

Dr Piet Koornhof, immediate past Minister of Co-operation and Development, was a visitor to the ZCC headquarters at Zion City before Mr Botha.

Judging by reports, he, too, was enthusiastically received by a huge crowd when the ZCC commemorated its 70th anniversary.

The ZCC is unquestionably a politically conservative force. It preaches obedience to constituted authority, including that of tribal leaders and the controversial "Homeland" governments established under Pretoria's separate devel-

opment policy.

The official programme at the ZCC 75th anniversary gathering carried a politically relevant injunction from Barnabas Lekganyane, the young leader of the ZCC.

It read: "Love and Peace. The key to them is obedience to the laws of the headmen, the Homeland governments and the Government of the Republic of South Africa".

His message clearly commended the ZCC to Mr Botha, particularly as the spectre of mass disobedience by youths in the black townships continued to haunt him.

A similar message was conveyed nearly two decades ago to one of Dr Koornhof's predecessors.

"In our church there is no place for people who undermine the country's security," Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane's father, Bishop Edward Lekganyane, told the then Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr Daan de Wet Nel, in the mid-Sixties.

"Besides the punishment imposed on them by the courts for breaking the laws, our church also takes action against them in an appropriate manner," the Bishop added.

The ZCC, then, has been receiving prominent NP leaders over two decades and assuring them of its backing and its opposition to subversion.

But that did not prevent

the emergence of real and sustained resistance to official policies after the outlawing of the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan-Africanist Congress 25 years ago, in April 1960.

The significance of cheers by millions of disciplined ZCC followers for Mr Botha at Zion City on Sunday should be seen in the context of these historical realities. They are as unlikely to forestall the continued growth of black opposition today as they were in 1980 or in the Sixties.

But that is not to dismiss the cheers as irrelevant. The support of ZCC in the present crisis is of obvious importance.

At the very least it guarantees the neutrality of the ZCC faithful in the townships, where blacks, especially those that are young and/or unemployed, are increasingly defiant of the authority.

In some situations it may facilitate the emergence, with official connivance and/or encouragement, of black vigilantes in favour of the upholding of "law and order" against the threat of anarchy.

Moreover, the invitation to President Botha to address the ZCC, on its 75th anniversary was highly pertinent to Pretoria's fight to ward off the threat of disinvestment and to win allies and confuse opponents in the propaganda war over South Africa in Western countries.

Invitations were extended to newspapers by the South African Defence Force to avail themselves of free seats in military aircraft to attend Zion City and report on Mr Botha's presence there as keynote speaker and honoured guest of Bishop Lekganyane.

Mr Botha's attendance at Zion City should be viewed in the same context as his recent discussions with Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and leader of the powerful Inkatha movement.

Both represent bids by Mr Botha to widen his support base in the black community.

Chief Buthelezi is in a different category to Bishop Lekganyane: he is a tough-minded politician seeking to drive a hard bargain with President Botha which will push him further away from apartheid and towards an interim *modus vivendi* of shared power between white and black.

The Botha-Buthelezi meeting, held about two months ago, was the first face-to-face dialogue between the two men in more than four years.

The previous man-to-man talks took place in January 1980, where President Botha is said to have offended Chief Buthelezi by waving a finger in his face and admonishing him for releasing a statement to the Press on their meeting.

Since then Mr Botha and Chief Buthelezi, while continuing their political quarrel, have faced a common and growing challenge from both the banned ANC and the extra-parliamentary but legal United Democratic Front (UDF).

Mr Botha and Chief Buthelezi have both accused the UDF of being a front for the ANC (Chief Buthelezi described it perjoratively as being the ANC's "slimy stepping stone").

Apart from having earned the common enmity of the ANC and UDF, the two men have another factor in common: they are the leaders of South Africa's two largest ethnic groups, the Afrikaners and the Zulus.

In these circumstances it is hardly surprising that the two men put aside their pride and met to discuss their differences and to explore the possibility of partial agreement.

The talks led to speculation of the birth of an Afrikaner-Zulu alliance of convenience as the dominant political force in the 1990s.

That may be premature. But, like the presence of Mr Botha at Zion City, the Botha-Buthelezi rapprochement is a reminder that the struggle in South Africa is largely one for the allegiance of the black community, and that the Afrikaner-controlled State will not be without black support as long as it has both power to wield and patronage to dispense.

LOOKING BACK

From the files of the
Rand Daily Mail
70 YEARS AGO
April 10, 1915

THE German Crown Prince has returned to the command of the Army around Verdun.

50 YEARS AGO
April 10, 1935

WOMEN alleged to have maintained friendly relations with Jews have been the object of organised anti-Jewish demonstrations at Breslau.

25 YEARS AGO
April 10, 1960

A RESOLUTION deploring South Africa's racial policies was passed, without a division, by the House of Commons yesterday.

BIBLE

"When you walk, your step will not be hampered; and if you run, you will not stumble."

Proverbs 4:12 RSV.

1606 — Hapsburg Roman Emperor
1741 — Prussia's trian forces at Silesia.
1864 — Archduke accepts title of I
1932 — Paul von German president
1945 — US troop tion camp at Bu
1952 — Russia p tions be held und sion instead of re vision and rej Germany's front
1961 — Adolf EI

UDF vows to stage demos against tour

By NKOPANE MAKOBANE

(11A) THE United Democratic Front is determined to go ahead with demonstrations against the planned All Blacks rugby team tour of South Africa later this year, a spokesman said yesterday.

Mr Terror Lekota, UDF publicity secretary, was reacting to a statement by the Ministry of Law and Order yesterday that the New Zealand rugby team would be given police protection should it visit the country.

The statement by Colonel Leon Mellet, a spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, followed a decision at a UDF conference at the weekend that it would demonstrate against the All Blacks at airports and playing fields because it regarded the tour as "complicity in the crime of apartheid".

According to Col Mellet, the police would protect the team as it would any other visitors to South Africa. The police were expected to maintain law and order and they would enforce it strictly, regardless who broke it and where, he said.

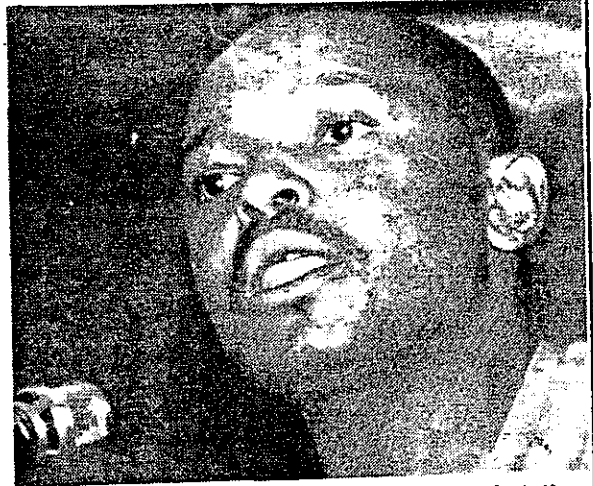
"Any individual or organisation who breaks the law must expect the police to react. By the same token, any law-abiding person, whether a citizen or a visitor, may expect the police to protect him. Our function and motto is to serve and protect," he said.

Said Mr Lekota: "Clearly, with regard to police, we understand very well what they mean by protecting the All Blacks. There is nothing in what we have

said which suggests that violent methods will be used.

"The suggestion of violence is used to lay the basis for strong-arm tactical intervention by the State. However, we are going ahead to prepare for effective demonstrations against the planned tour.

"We hope that the New Zealand Rugby Union will take the decision not to come. We have no intention to threaten the rugby union. We are only warning them of the possible reaction by the Government to our proposed peaceful demonstration."



UDF's TERROR LEKOTA: "We know what the police mean."

Boesak to speak at mass funeral

Own Correspondent
PORT ELIZABETH. The Rev Allan Boesak, president of World Alliance of Reformed Churches, will be a guest speaker at the mass funeral service on Saturday for 19 victims of the March 21 Langa shooting.

Three other victims of the unrest will be buried with the 19 on the same day, according to UDF executive member Mr Fikile Kobese, the spokesman for the Uitenhage Funeral Catering Committee.

The names of the victims will be released today, he said.

Among other prominent figures who are expected to attend the burial service are Bishop Desmond Tutu, the Nobel Peace Prize winner and head of Johannesburg's Anglican Church diocese, Mr Patrick Lekota, publicity secretary for the UDF and other UDF national executive members.

Mr Kobese said 21 bodies had been identified and released to the families, but many other people had gone missing since the shooting and he would not be satisfied until all the bodies had

been accounted for.

Lieutenant-Colonel Gerrie van Rooyen, police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, said yesterday afternoon that the bodies of three of the 19 people have been released to relatives. The remaining 16 bodies were still in the mortuary at the New Brighton police station in Port Elizabeth, he said.

Colonel Van Rooyen said only one of the 19 — a girl aged about 17 — had not been identified. He said her body would be released only after identification.

Mr Kobese said residents in Kwanobuhle and Langa townships would not go to town on the day of the funerals. He added that businesses in the townships would close from noon to 3pm in mourning for the victims.

"There will also be a complete blackout in all forms of sport activities during the weekend," he added.

He also said buses, taxis and pirate taxis to take mourners between Langa, Maduna Road, other coloured areas and Port Elizabeth had been arranged.

Funeral of 6 PAC members

By MIKE PITSO

MASERU. — Six members of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) — shot dead by Lesotho security forces last week — were buried in Maseru on Saturday.

The six were shot in a sensitive border area, usually used by Lesotho Liberation Army infiltrators, a government statement said.

Those killed were Mr Thami Zali, acting PAC representative in Lesotho; trade unionist Miss Boniswa Ngcukina; Mr Nkululeko Masemola; Mr Kukie Barnabas; Mr Siyabulela Twabu; and Mr Rex Mksepi.

A strong attack against South Africa's racial policies was delivered at the funeral, and messages of PAC support were heard from as far away as Robben Island and Dar es Salaam.

KDM 11/4/85

Police vehicle destroyed as unrest spreads

11A

By RAYMOND MASHAO
UNREST spread yesterday to Katlehong, near Germiston, and continued to flare in the strife-torn Eastern Cape townships, while pupils in the Free State set fire to classrooms and private vehicles.

A petrol bomb was hurled at a police vehicle in Katlehong, setting it alight and totally destroying it, according to a police spokesman.

The home of a policeman was also petrol-bombed, causing extensive damage, reports SAPA.

In Thabong, near Welkom, placard-waving pupils gathered in front of the Teto High School, demanding the resignation of the principal, Mr Jordaan, and vice-principal, Mr Hanekom.

Youths in Kimberley set fire to two classrooms, four private vehicles and two vans.

In the Eastern Cape, police dismantled several roadblocks and on a number of occasions fired shotguns, tearsmoke, sneeze powder, and rubber bullets to restore the daily routine in these areas, the spokesman added.

● Reverend Allan Boesak, the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, will be a guest speaker on Saturday at the mass funeral service for 19 victims of the Langa shooting, according to Mr Fikile Kobese, the spokesman of the Uitenhage Funeral Catering Committee and UDF executive member.

Also expected to attend the service are Bishop Desmond Tutu, the Nobel Peace Prize winner and Bishop of Johannesburg, and Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, publicity secretary of UDF, Mr Kobese said.

He said 21 bodies had been identified and released to the families, but insisted that there were many other missing people since the shootings.

However, Lieutenant Colonel Gerrie van Rooyen, police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, said yesterday that the bodies of only three of the 19 had been released to relatives.

The remaining 16 bodies were still in the mortuary, he said.

He said businesses in the townships would close from noon to 3pm to observe the mourning for the victims.

"There would be a complete blackout in all forms of sport activities during the weekend," he added.

He also said buses, taxis and pirate taxis to transport mourners between Langa, at Maduna Road, coloured areas and Port Elizabeth had been arranged.

● The Port Elizabeth Kayamnandi Town Council has appointed 170 law enforcement officers who will see to maintaining law and order, the prevention of crime and the enforcement of by-laws accepted by the council, Town Clerk, Mr R J Scholtz, announced yesterday.

11A ~~11A~~ D. Asfeth

UDF man's call to isolate South Africa

LONDON — A representative of the United Democratic Front, Mr Murphy Morobe, has called on the people of Britain to "rise up" and challenge the policies on South Africa of the British Government.

Mr Morobe, rural secretary of the UDF in the Transvaal, was addressing a press conference here organised by the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

He is on a tour which so far has included the United States, Sweden and Britain.

Explaining the purpose of his trip, Mr Morobe said he wanted international support for the isolation of the South African Government.

"The UDF regards the Thatcher and Reagan administrations as the main accomplices in the

crimes of apartheid," he said.

"It is clear to the UDF that Mrs Thatcher does not believe in democracy and freedom for black South Africans," Mr Morobe added.

He called on the people of Britain to act "to isolate the apartheid regime."

It was an offence under South Africa's Internal Security Act to call for sanctions, he said, but the UDF believed foreign investments did not benefit the "oppressed and exploited people of South Africa". They bolstered the "apartheid government," he claimed.

Mr Morobe said he had met a number of anti-apartheid groups. In Sweden, he said, such groups were campaigning against the arrest and trial of UDF leaders. — DDC.

BRIEFING

TCOM 11/4/85 (11A)

**Ciskei police release
31 members of UDF**

THIRTY-ONE detained officials and supporters of the United Democratic Front in the Border area were yesterday released from detention by the Ciskei Security Police.

This was confirmed by members of the detainees' families.

They were detained in a Ciskei Security Police crackdown two weeks ago in the district of Mdantsane, Zwelitsha, Alice and Saba.

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Tutu 'shocked' at ZCC award to P W Botha

11/11/85

Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — Bishop Desmond Tutu, the Nobel Peace Prize-winner and former secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches, has described the presentation of a Moria City Peace Award to the State President, Mr P W Botha, as the "most ridiculous thing" he had ever seen.

Bishop Tutu said he was shocked at the award.

"I really wonder what impression the ZCC (Zion Christian Church) leadership was trying to give when they presented Mr Botha with a peace award. Despite the four-million membership of the ZCC, one can still ask what significant things this church has done for

the community.

"Bishop (Barnabas) Lekganyane (the head) wasted so much of his valuable time with Mr Botha. He should have spent this time talking to relevant leaders of our community," said Bishop Tutu.

He expressed shock at the clapping of hands by millions of the ZCC members after every sentence of Mr Botha's speech.

"Those people kept on clapping their hands as if someone was conducting them even when Mr Botha had not even finished a sentence. To me they look like they were programmed," added Bishop Tutu.

The Azanian Students Movement (AZASM), in a statement by its national deputy president, Mr

Thami Mcerwa, also lashed at the church.

"The ZCC leadership cannot hunt with hounds and run with the hares. They cannot eat their cake and still have it," said Mr Mcerwa.

"The leadership of the ZCC should reconsider its old tradition of association with government representatives which dates back to the days of the late Mr De Wet Nel.

"The black community views the exploitation of a religious service by Mr Botha for his own benefit as the worst of hypocrisy and profanity," the AZASM said.

The ZCC's marriage with Mr Botha's government would in the long run damage the church's image.

REST

Buthlezi invites Boesak to Ulundi

African Affairs
Correspondent

ULUNDI—The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has invited Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and a patron of the United Democratic Front, to visit the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and refute political allegations which the chief has made about him.

Delivering his policy speech in the Assembly yesterday, Chief Buthelezi said Dr Boesak was a 'Johnny-come-lately' in the struggle for

liberation.

He was the kind of person who would find a lucrative job in the World Council of Churches 'should the going in South Africa get tough', the chief minister alleged.

'It is an open secret that he, in fact, aspires to the presidency of the World Council of Churches,' Chief Buthelezi said.

The KwaZulu leader said the clergyman had created false impressions when he visited Maputo at the invitation of President Samora Machel.

While there, the minister said Chief Buthelezi was the 'Muzorewa' of South Africa, the chief minister alleged.

'Denigrated'

Chief Buthelezi said Dr Boesak had predicted the Government would start talking about a fourth chamber for blacks in the tri-cameral Parliament and had said that, in order to make this fourth chamber work, the South African Government would turn to the Zulu

leader.

He said that, when he appeared with Dr Boesak on a recent *Nightline* ABC Television programme (not screened in South Africa), the clergyman had 'denigrated' him by saying that the Chief Minister of KwaZulu worked within the framework of the Government's policy.

Chief Buthelezi said he had told Dr Boesak that he could not understand this statement, coming from a minister in the Dutch Reformed Church which had three sections, one for whites, one for coloureds and one for Africans.

In addition, Dr Boesak was chaplain to the University of the Western Cape, regarded in some circles as a 'tribal college'.

He said he had not started a fight with Dr Boesak and he was not attacking him as a person.

He was inviting the minister to dismantle the things which caused political disunity.

NIM 11/4/85

Call to re-examine ~~107~~ (11A) Freedom Charter

African Affairs
Correspondent

ULUNDI—The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, says members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly should re-examine the Freedom Charter, drawn up at Kliptown in 1955 by members of the Congress Alliance, to see if it is still a valid formulation of black demand.

Delivering his policy speech in the Assembly yesterday, Chief Buthelezi said the Charter was a document of profound importance and deserved to be reviewed from time to time.

No document, on the

other hand, should be elevated into being a black political gospel, he claimed.

The chief minister said the Freedom Charter was being put to diverse uses at present and it was only fair to the people for members of the Assembly to express themselves on whether it remained a legitimate formulation of black demand.

Chief Buthelezi said Inkatha believed in a multi-strategy approach.

Inkatha resented being told that past wisdom was the private property of a few of its 'brothers and sisters in exile', he declared.

Kiwi PM meets Oliver Tambo

LUSAKA—New Zealand's Prime Minister, David Lange, held talks yesterday with ANC leader Oliver Tambo. NM 11/4/85 (119) (24)

The meeting was aimed at reaffirming Mr Lange's opposition to apartheid, although he rejects the ANC's violent methods, New Zealand sources said. — (Sapa-Reuter)

Chief criticises police relations

African Affairs
Correspondent

NM 11/12/75
ULUNDI—The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, says some of the officers in the South African Police have not been co-operating with the KwaZulu authorities in quelling recent faction fighting near Southport on the lower South Coast.

Condemning the violence in a statement in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday, Chief Buthelezi said there were very good relations between the South African Police and the KwaZulu Police at the highest level.

However, at a lower level, there was animosity on the part of officers of the S A P towards the KwaZulu police.

'As the facts are not at our disposal, we cannot comment at this stage,' a spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, Col Leon Mellet, told the Mercury last night.

Azapo 'no' to tour

By NKOPANE
MAKOBANE

THE Azanian Peoples' Organisation is determined to see this year's proposed New Zealand All Blacks rugby team tour of South Africa called off.

An Azapo spokesman told The SOWETAN yesterday that they were busy deciding what action they were likely to take if the team defied all and came to the Republic.

The organisation has vowed that if the tour goes ahead it will do "their very best" to make the stay of the Kiwis in the country "as uncomfortable as possible".

UDF

Azapo's declaration comes in the wake of a weekend decision by the Democratic United Front (UDF) to stage demonstrations against the All Blacks at all airports and playing fields because it regarded the tour as "complicity in the crime of apartheid".

At the same time, the Ministry of Law and Order has also announced that police would give protection to the team should it visit the country. A spokesman has said that law and order would be maintained and enforced strictly, regardless who broke it and where.

Azapo's secretary

general, Mr Mbuyiseli Mahlathi, in a letter to the international secretary of HART (Halt All Racist Tours), Trevor Richards in Wellington, New Zealand, says he appreciated HART's efforts in pressing for the tour's cancellation.

"We appreciate your efforts under equally intense harassment and opposition from rabid elements within your society. We also wish to express our solidarity with your activists (including a student from here) who was arrested while involved in a demonstration against injustice," says Mr Mahlathi.

Tragic

He adds that it is tragic that another All Blacks tour to this country is to be undertaken nine years after the June 16 national uprisings.

"After the Kiwis had seen for themselves what happened during

the last period of their visit and the ugly repercussions the 1976 events had for the sober-minded people the world over, we would have expected their consciences to be their guides in deciding to play with racist South Africa," said Mr Mahlathi.

He points out that it would be foolhardy for anyone of their formation to mount pickets at any venue where the test series would be played. This is because their cadres would stick out as a sore thumb and therefore be an easy prey for victimisation and harassment. However, they are determined to see the tour being called off.

Mr Mahlathi also noted that the New Zealand government will be meeting with the rugby union in an attempt to persuade them to call the tour off. He hoped that reason and common sense would prevail.

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Zion Church denies ^{ARGUS} political bias ^{12/4/85}

~~11A~~
Argus Correspondent

PIETERSBURG. — The Zion Christian Church has issued a statement here reaffirming its non-political stance amid speculation on the true significance of last Sunday's mass church gathering at Moria which was addressed by the State President, Mr P W Botha.

The statement, representing an unprecedented move by the church, which in the past has ignored media reaction to its events, reads:

"In view of the wide publicity given to the events at Moria over the Easter weekend and various subsequent reactions, the Zion Christian Church reaffirms that it has no political bias or ambition but is committed to the preaching of the Gospel and the promotion of peace and love among all South Africans.

"Being a Christian church we pray that all who are working for peace and prosperity in our country may experience God's guidance and strength in this task.

"We adhere to the Biblical injunction to respect those set in authority over us, and for this reason it was a privilege to welcome the State President and his wife as our guests on the occasion of our 75th anniversary."

BLACK UNREST

Councils in crisis

Nationwide unrest of the past few months has gravely undermined the notion of "autonomous black local authorities" — the cornerstone of government's efforts to "democratise" black urban life in SA.

According to the Department of Co-operation and Development, since violence erupted in the Vaal Triangle in September last year, 12 black councillors have been murdered and 45 resigned before the Uitenhage upheavals of March 21. Subsequently, at least three more councillors in the eastern Cape have been killed and more than 20 have resigned.

As a result, few councils in the PWV and the eastern Cape function properly, while some, like Ratanda and Duduza, have been crippled altogether. More than 30 council chairmen have resigned. Altogether 34 of the councils were established countrywide under the Black Local Authorities Act 1983.

The FM understands that the Cabinet is seriously concerned about developments which could mean the end of their plans for "local democracy." The breakdown of local order was high on the agenda at the Cabinet's first meeting this week after Parliament's Easter adjournment.

If it was not like that before, the finances of many local authorities are in a state of collapse. Either out of conviction or out of fear of paying tribute to a hated system, tens of thousands of households are withholding payment of rent and services levies. The loss of revenue in affected townships is incalculable. In addition, the cost of damage to council property, businesses and homes runs to many millions.

The most disconcerting thing about the current "cycle of violence" is that no one seems to know where it had its genesis, but part of the answer at least seems to lie with perceptions that the new councils are extensions of the arm of apartheid and, being black, are therefore fair, and easily accessible targets of reprisal. There real answer is doubtless less simplistic. In the eastern Cape, for instance, there have been suggestions by self-confessed "avengers" that their "reprisals" are directed at corrupt black elites suspected of "murderous exploitation" of their parents. While the ANC, underground and illegal, and therefore beyond prosecution, is pleased to claim much of the responsibility of what is going on, there is much evidence to suggest that the war of townships is being fought on grounds of poverty, deprivation and frustration. Children of 12-14, hell-bent on immolation of local figures of exploitation, have barely had time to master the ABC, let alone the dialectics of liberation politics.

Although unrest in the eastern Cape and the east Rand has calmed somewhat in the last few days, black townships nationwide are simmering. The biggest funeral in the eastern Cape since that of Steve Biko takes place this weekend when the victims of the Langa shootings are buried. However, a large military force has been deployed.

Meanwhile, the United Democratic Front (UDF) decided at its first annual conference last weekend to open a new phase in mass protest action involving a disobedience campaign.

UDF Publicity Secretary Patrick Lekota told a press conference that the time had come for a "new level of assault on the current dispensation. We will take up issues and challenge them time and time again. We will not be satisfied with making press statements.

"Each time we take up an issue, we will not hesitate to take our activists and march in the streets." Lekota did add, however, that the UDF is still committed to non-violence. ■

and more on TV1, 2 and 3 — he also received praise from the United States and Europe. It was a welcome change for him after weeks of a very bad overseas press.

Bishop Barnabus Lekganyane, third hereditary "prophet" and head of the ZCC, is arguably the most revered, if not influential, black figure in SA. This is to judge purely by the millions of his deeply committed followers who every Easter make a pilgrimage to Zion City, Moria, outside Pietersburg.

More significant, however, is that the ZCC, easily the largest of some 3 000 "African independent churches" in SA, preaches a distinctly conservative philosophy. At its 70th anniversary over Easter 1980, for example, when then Co-operation and Development Minister Piet Koornhof attended the function, Lekganyane urged his massive flock to be law-abiding and to support their homeland chiefs and the "mother state" of SA.

Political opportunity

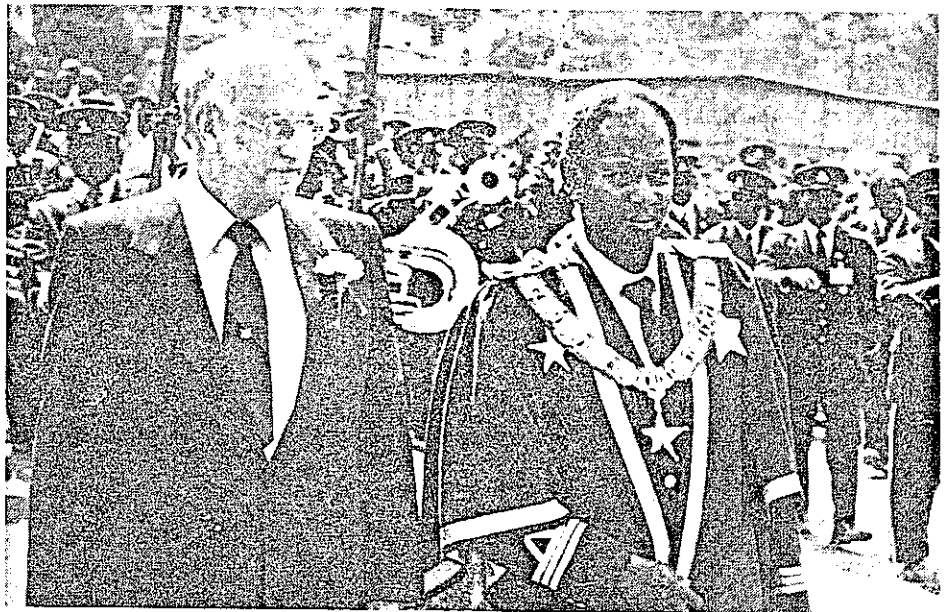
It is therefore not surprising that President P W Botha attended this year's 75th ZCC anniversary, where he received the Freedom of Moria, and expressed his "appreciation . . . for the positive spirit shown by you and your followers." Addressing this particular religious sect was a political opportunity not to be missed. Botha in turn was praised by Lekganyane, a man in his thirties, for "his untiring efforts to fight for the maintenance of peace in SA."

From government's point of view, the ZCC presents a wonderful antidote to radi-

RELIGION

Wooing the masses

State President P W Botha's Easter reception at Moria, headquarters of the Zionist Christian Church (ZCC), was a major coup for government in dark times. Not only did he have the chance to deliver a conciliatory message to more than 2m black Zionists —



Botha and Lekganyane . . . politics and religion do mix

Growth after the ban

FEATURE

The African National Congress (ANC) was banned by government 25 years ago, on April 8 1960.

If by outlawing the organisation government thought it would die, it was wide of the mark: the ANC is alive and well and still represents the aspirations of a large number, if not vast majority, of South Africans — and not only because of its armed struggle.

The National Party (NP) itself acknowledged the continued national importance of the ANC by recently offering ANC leader Nelson Mandela his conditional freedom and, through the debate in the party and its newspapers, on talks with the movement.

The ANC is the oldest nationalist organisation in Africa south of the Sahara. The SA Native National Congress, as it was first called, was formed in 1912, two years after Union.

Years of fruitless pursuit of "moderate" and "responsible" methods of protest raised the level of frustration and forced leaders into radical resistance. Factors such as the removal of blacks from the Cape voters' roll in 1936, the electoral victory for D F Malan's NP in 1948 and the subsequent institutionalisation of apartheid led to a broadening of the ANC's base of support.

In April 1959 the ANC suffered a major setback when a group of young Africanists broke away to form the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) under Robert Sobukwe.

The PAC had a strong following in Sharpeville and other townships around Vereeniging, as well as in Nyanga and Langa near Cape Town. It organised the ill-fated pass protest at Sharpeville on March 21 1960 when police opened fire on the crowd and killed 69 — an act that reverberated around the world and was to be repeated exactly 25 years later in vastly different circumstances near Uitenhage. The 1960 unrest spread to Cape Town's Nyanga and Langa, and other areas, with many blacks killed and hundreds arrested.

A state of emergency was declared and on April 8 1960, the ANC and the PAC were banned under the Unlawful Organisations Act.

In 1961 the underground leadership of the ANC, with a leading role for the SA Communist Party (SACP), formed a sabotage unit called Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation). In 1963, 17 members of the underground executive were arrested at Rivonia and ambitious plans for armed revolt uncovered. Leaders such as Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Dennis Goldberg and Govan Mbeki were sentenced to life imprisonment.

In 1974 the Portuguese empires in Mozambique and Angola began crumbling. In June 1976 Soweto exploded, this was followed by nationwide unrest lasting months. The ANC later claimed major re-

sponsibility for the upheaval and Umkhonto capitalised on the atmosphere of anarchy by recruiting some 4 000 youths.

From 1980 Umkhonto launched a series of bold attacks as part of what became known as "armed propaganda" on the Sasol plant, rural and urban police stations, Koeberg nuclear power station, Voortrekkerhoogte military base and claimed responsibility for the Pretoria car bomb outrage.

The Pretoria bomb killed 19 and injured 215 and was in stark contrast to the ANC's strategy of minimising civilian casualties.



ANC's Tambo ... new internal strategy

Although still keeping to that strategy, it seems as if the ANC is now more prepared to risk civilian casualties in special cases, mostly when revenge is a motive.

Mozambique President Samora Machel found that by 1983 SA pressure was increasingly difficult to resist and was forced by a combination of externally mounted destabilisation and economic ruin at home to forge the Nkomati Accord with Pretoria in March 1984. The terms of the agreement forced him to abandon support for the ANC. Later he surprised observers by ordering a crack-down on the organisation. The blow to the ANC was compounded when the Swaziland government followed suit with a programme of harassment and eviction.

For the past few years, the ANC leadership seems to have rid itself of internecine power struggles. Under the leadership of Oliver Tambo it scored major diplomatic victories, such as recognition by the UN and OAU and good relations with Western countries such as Germany and Australia.

But SA saw another extremely important development in extra-parliamentary politics in 1983 — the founding of the United Demo-

cratic Front (UDF). From its shaky beginnings, this broad amorphous movement grew to a powerful popular movement with more than 500 affiliated organisations.

UDF publicity secretary Terror Lekota, for one, is on record as saying that the UDF is not intended as a substitute or rival for the "liberation movements." Indeed, UDF patrons include ANC leaders like Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki and Dennis Goldberg, while several prominent leaders have been connected with the ANC.

While the main thrust of the two organisations' political objectives are undoubtedly the same, and there is probably a vast cross-cutting membership, it would be simplistic to see the UDF as the ANC's legitimate arm — like Sinn Fein is to the IRA. It undoubtedly has a life of its own, and is at least publicly committed to non-violence.

For its part, the ANC seems satisfied with the UDF and what it is doing. ANC secretary general Alfred Nzo took this even further at the organisation's Bonn conference, but he may not be quoted.

Clearly though, the UDF would face a major crisis of survival if the ANC were to be unbanned. In fact, there is reason to believe that UDF would not resist incorporation into the ANC. This could be a problem for some white and coloured supporters.

As with Swapo in Namibia, the ANC's military setbacks since Nkomati have not diminished its popular support, although this is difficult to measure. As Piet Muller, assistant editor of *Beeld* wrote after a recent meeting with ANC leaders in Lusaka: "almost every big disturbance in black townships leads to bigger support for the ANC." This is confirmed by the fact that most of the victims of the recent riots were buried in ANC colours.

That does not necessarily mean an allegiance to the leadership of Oliver Tambo. The ANC, as seen through the eyes of the masses, is still very much a liberation ideal represented by the Mandelas and Sisulus.

Tambo appears to understand that it is necessary to organise the ANC's external affairs to take greater account of what is happening in SA itself. That is probably why the ANC has recently reorganised its external bureaucracy with a much lesser role for the SACP. It is seen as an effort to regain some of its traditionalist black African image. The era of "armed propaganda" also seems to be giving way to a programme of building internal organisational structures.

The present wave of black unrest — and the somewhat excessive police reaction — can only favour the ANC.

Indeed, the ANC seems to be a much bigger factor, with a broader base in April 1985, than when it was banned in April 1960.

176645 12/4/85 (117)

Management committees in rift with City Council

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Municipal Reporter
MANAGEMENT committees in Cape Town have broken ties with the City Council to force a crisis aimed at making the Government "sit up and take note of our needs".

Committee members slated the Government and the City Council in a two-pronged attack yesterday, voting unanimously to break off operating ties with the council and to press the Government for full autonomy.

The decision to force the collapse of the controversial committee system in coloured and Indian areas will be followed today by talks with Mr David Curry, the Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture in the House of Representatives.

Committee members decided yesterday to press Mr Curry for an alternative to the present system in which management committees make recommendations to white-controlled local authorities.

They said they wanted to make decisions and not merely advise.

"Won't put up with it"

During an often stormy debate, the chairman of the Athlone Management Committee and a Labour Party MP in the House of Representatives, Mr A Stanley, said: "We have given the system a chance and it has failed.

"Our decision to break ties will say to them: 'We are not going to put up with it any more'."

⊗ Friction between management committees and the City Council arose after councillors launched a blistering attack on the management committee system late last year, while reaffirming a commitment to full representation in one council.

The debate arose over proposals to extend liaison between councils and management committees. Councillors chose not to change their present system of liaison, roundly criticised as "ineffectual and a waste of time" by committee members yesterday.

021) 82-

ARGUS 12/4/85

NATIONAL

119

UDF 'will not harm players in any way'

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The United Democratic Front has replied sharply to those who have seen its commitment to direct mass action as a threat of violence to those it opposes.

The UDF's recent statement that it will protest in the streets, at airports and sports grounds against any New Zealand rugby tour of South Africa has been seen by some as a threat to the All Blacks.

"We have stated that we shall demonstrate our opposition to the tour but not that we plan to harm the New Zealand players in any way. That would conflict with our fundamental non-violent stance," said UDF publicity secretary Mr Terror Lekota.

At a Press conference at the weekend Mr Lekota said that the Uitenhage experience had shown that demonstrations might meet with violent police action and the tourists would

bear responsibility if demonstrators were hurt.

Mr Lekota emphasised last night that the UDF's determination to lead mass action "was precisely because our conference noted there was a need to discipline protest in order to avert anarchy".

It was the task of the UDF to lead people in such a way that their feelings, however unpleasant to the Nationalists, should reach the Government, said Mr Lekota.

"Unless the UDF takes control of the situation in this way there exists a real danger that undisciplined elements will misdirect anger at apartheid policies towards other targets."

Disciplined mass action would "correctly channel the energies of the people and effectively demonstrate to the Government where their feelings are, without destruction to property or loss of life".

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APR 12/1988
11A
**Council
resigns**

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. —
The entire Humansdorp
Community Council and
six members of the Ad-
elaide-Bedford Com-
munity Council resigned
yesterday.

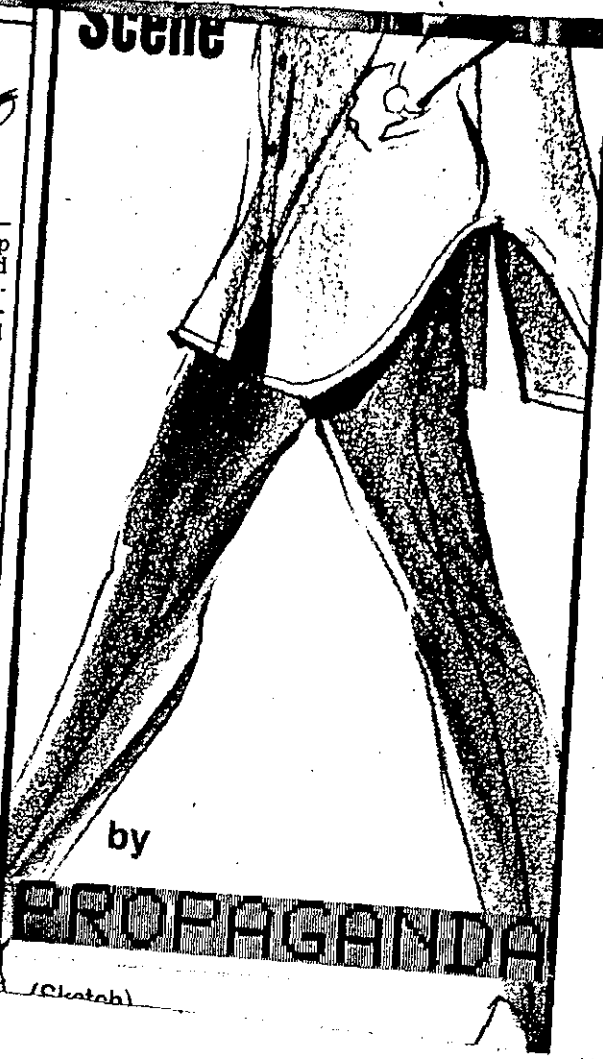
The chairman of the
Humansdorp (Kwanom-
zamo) Community Coun-
cil, Mr Wellington G Mje-
kula, said that while
there had been no har-
assment of council
members, they felt it was
the right thing to resign.

Only three members of
the Adelaide-Bedford
(Kayamnandi) council
did not resign.

Former Kayamnandi
councillor Mr Edmund
Vukile Yose, 81, said his
heart condition had de-
teriorated after his son's
house had been gutted
and stones had been
thrown at his own house.

He said he did not
know why he had been a
target of violence in the
township.

SCENE



by

PROPAGANDA

(Sketch)

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2014 12/4/85

SA refugee shot in Lesotho mystery attack

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Political Editor

A SOUTH AFRICAN refugee was injured in a rifle attack by unknown assailants on a trio of houses occupied by 19 Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) exiles in Maseru, Lesotho, Lesotho announced yesterday.

The attack on Wednesday night came less than three weeks after six PAC members were reportedly killed in a "sensitive area" by a Lesotho Para-Military Force border patrol.

AK-47 rifle shells were found by Lesotho police near the trio of PAC houses, Radio Lesotho said. The police had earlier driven the attackers off but did not make any arrests, it added.

The injured PAC man is Mr Johnson Galela. He suffered two bullet wounds in the attack, which damaged the houses and broke several windows. The attackers are said to have been wearing brown overalls.

The assault took place in an atmosphere of tension between the PAC and the Lesotho Government.

Already strained relations between the two parties were exacerbated by the killing of the six PAC members last month and the later rejection by the PAC of the official Lesotho Government explanation that armed PAC members had engaged Lesotho security forces when challenged.

A Radio Lesotho commentary accused the PAC members of endangering

Lesotho security by using its territory — or appearing to do so — to mount an attack on South Africa in apparent disregard of the risk that it could trigger a repeat of the December 12, 1983, attack on Lesotho by South African commandos.

Radio Lesotho referred to statements by the PAC representatives in London and New York to justify its rebuke.

Subsequent talks between Lesotho and a PAC delegation headed by Mr Joe Mkanazi, PAC administrative secretary in Dar es Salaam, do not seem to have resolved differences completely.

Although they agreed after "frank" talks "to improve relations on the basis of mutual trust", Mr Mkanazi expressed doubts that the PAC members who died were either armed or had engaged Lesotho security forces.

The Youth League of the governing Basotho National Party has adopted a hostile stance towards the PAC and urged the Lesotho Prime Minister, Dr Leabua Jonathan, to expel it from Lesotho.

Strained relations between the Lesotho Government and the PAC date back to the 1970s when rebels of the Lesotho Liberation Army were trained in Libya with PAC recruits.

The new PAC leader, Mr John Pokella, is said to have severed ties with the LLA.

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Erapo holds first AGM

THE East Rand People's Organisation (Erapo) holds its first annual congress on Sunday in Actonville, Benoni.

The congress will be held at the St Joseph's Community Centre in

Actonville and about 100 delegates are expected to attend.

Erapo has a membership of about 1 200 in Katlehong, Thokoza, Vosloorus, Daveyton, Wattville, Duduza, KwaThema

and Tsakane.

It is affiliated to the United Democratic Front (UDF). A top official of the UDF is expected to address

the Congress. Mr Vincent Francis, Erapo's chief executive organiser, said the congress will review the organisation's constitution,

assess the state of the organisation since its formation in 1981 and adopt a programme of action.

Said Mr Francis:

"We are going to elect a new regional executive committee which will be in office for the next two years. We are appealing to all

elected delegates, observers and people who wish to join the organisation to attend the congress which will start at 9 am."

Bannings won't destroy Assembly, says Buthelezi

African Affairs
Correspondent

ULUNDI—Whites would need the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly when they returned to the 'politics of sanity', the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said yesterday.

Delivering his policy speech, Chief Buthelezi said the Assembly could not be pushed out of the way.

As time passed, the need for whites to deal with the Assembly became more imperative, he said.

'The Assembly cannot be destroyed by the simple expedient of banning a handful of leaders', the Chief Minister remarked.

Chief Buthelezi said Inkatha and the KwaZulu Assembly strove for the kind of all-inclusive democratic opposition to

apartheid which had come about in South Africa by 1955, the year in which the Freedom Charter was presented.

'The United Democratic Front, Azapo, AZASM, Cosas and many other organisations need to learn the lesson of history, that it was because narrow party political interests were dropped in

the early 1950s that there was a great surge forward of democratic opposition,' he said.

Chief Buthelezi said the Freedom Charter was worded as a compromise document which could be read either way. There was nothing in it which dictated a one-man-one-vote formula and there was nothing in it which

spelled out a socialist future.

'Those who now want to make it a Holy Grail in defence of a socialist worker state simply do not know their history and are bent upon using the Freedom Charter as a divisive instrument in support of party political aims and objectives,' he said.

Chief says Tambo has failed to lead the people

African Affairs
Correspondent

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi says the African National Congress in exile is more interested in 'crowding on top of the roost' than waging the

real struggle against apartheid.

Attacking the mission in exile and its president Oliver Tambo in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Chief Buthelezi said Mr Tambo had failed to exercise the kind of leadership black South Africa expected of him because he was faced with divisive elements in his own ranks.

The divisive nature of the mission in exile was contributing very largely to fuelling the fires of black-on-black conflicts in South Africa, he said.

He said it was a 'myth' that the ANC had achieved the unification of the people. Black South Africa had never been unified.

'I appeal to Mr Tambo to have the courage to put

his house in order and to do that which he set out to do when he still had vision and when he was a symbol of hope for so many of us here,' Chief Buthelezi said.

He said that, during the disturbances in Lamontville last year, he had received evidence that members of the ANC mission in exile were using people to foment trouble against KwaZulu.

Chief Buthelezi said that, after receiving a telegram from Mr Tambo regarding his impending visit, he had written to the leader, offering to meet him.

So far he had not been given a date on which Mr Tambo was able to meet him, the Chief Minister said. He added he was issuing another invitation to him.

Record budget of R843 million

African Affairs Correspondent

THE KwaZulu Legislative Assembly is to be asked to approve a record budget of R843 million for the 1985-86 financial year.

This represents an increase of R160 million over last year's budget.

The major share of the money — R303 million — will go towards health, welfare and pensions.

An amount of R233 million is to be expended on the educational needs of the region.

A sum of R167 million is to be spent on public works in KwaZulu.

NM 12/4/85

~~201A~~ 11A 70

Botha's bid to widen his black support

THE presence of President P W Botha at the Easter weekend 75th anniversary celebrations of the black separatist Zionist Christian Church (ZCC) underlined a reality which critics of apartheid often ignore: the ruling National Party, with its ideology of separate development, has not been unsuccessful in winning black support.

The difficulty, however, lies not so much in recognising that Mr Botha has won the backing, or at the very least the political neutrality, of sections of the black community. The real problem is to assess the depth and significance of their support, irrespective of whether it is of an active or passive nature.

The first point to make is that the sympathetic alignment of the NP and the ZCC is not new. Dr Piet Koornhof, immediate past Minister of Co-operation and Development, was a visitor to the ZCC headquarters at Zion City before Mr Botha. Judging by reports, he too was enthusiastically received by a huge crowd when the ZCC commemorated its 70th anniversary.

The ZCC is unquestionably a politically conservative force. It preaches obedience to constituted authority, including that of tribal leaders and the controversial 'Homeland' governments established under Pretoria's separate development policy.

The official programme at the ZCC 75th

anniversary gathering carried a politically relevant injunction from Barnabas Lekganyane, the young leader of the ZCC: It read: 'Love and Peace. The key to them is obedience to the laws of the headmen, the Homeland governments and the Government of the Republic of South Africa.'

His message clearly commended the ZCC to Mr Botha, particularly as the spectre of mass disobedience by youths in the black townships continued to haunt him. A similar message was conveyed nearly two decades ago to one of Dr Koornhof's predecessors.

'In our church there is no place for people who undermine the country's security,' Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane's father, Bishop Edward Lekganyane, told the then Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr Daan de Wet Nel, in the mid-1960s.

'Besides the punishment imposed on them by the courts for breaking the laws, our church also takes action against them in an appropriate manner,' the bishop added.

The ZCC, then, has been receiving prominent NP leaders over two decades and assuring them of its backing and its opposition to subversion. But that did not prevent the emergence of real and sustained resistance to official policies after the outlawing of the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress 25 years ago in April 1960.

The significance of cheers by millions of disciplined ZCC followers for Mr Botha at Zion City on Sunday should be seen in the context of these historical realities. They are as unlikely to forestall the black opposition today as they were in 1980 or in the 1960s.

But that is not to dismiss the cheers as irrelevant. The support of ZCC in the present crisis is of obvious significance.

At the very least it guarantees the neutrality of the ZCC faithful in the townships, where blacks, especially those that are young and/or unemployed, are increasingly defiant of authority. In some situations it may facilitate the emergence, with official connivance and/or encouragement, of black vigilantes in favour of upholding 'law and order' against the

President Botha... must assess the significance of black support... threat of anarchy.

Moreover, the invitation to President Botha to address the ZCC on its 75th anniversary was highly pertinent to Pretoria's fight to ward off the threat of disinvestment, and to win allies or confuse opponents in the propaganda war over South Africa in Western countries.

Invitations were extended to newspapers by the South African Defence Force to avail themselves of seats in military aircraft to attend Zion City and report on Mr Botha's presence there as keynote speaker and honoured guest of Bishop Lekganyane.

Mr Botha's attendance at Zion City should be viewed in the same context as his recent discussions with Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and leader of the powerful Inkatha movement. Both represent a bid by Mr Botha to widen his support base in the black community.

Chief Buthelezi is in a different category to Bishop Lekganyane: he is a tough-minded politician seeking to drive a hard bargain with President Botha which will push him further away from apartheid and towards an interim *modus vivendi* of shared power between white and black.

The Botha-Buthelezi meeting, held about two months ago, was the first face-to-face dialogue between the two men in more than four years. The previous man-to-man talks took place in January, 1980, when President Botha is said to have offended Chief Buthelezi by waving a finger in his face and admonishing him



ment to the Press on the meeting.

Since then Mr Botha and Chief Buthelezi, while continuing their political quarrel, have faced a common and growing challenge from both the banned African National Congress

and the extra-parliamentary but still legal United Democratic Front.

Mr Botha and Chief Buthelezi have both accused the UDF of being a front for the ANC (Chief Buthelezi described the UDF pejoratively as serving as the ANC's 'slimy stepping stone').

Apart from having earned the common enmity of the ANC and UDF, the two men had another factor in common: they are the lead-

Patrick Laurence reports from Johannesburg

ers of South Africa's two most powerful ethnic groups, the Afrikaners and the Zulus.

In these circumstances it is hardly surprising that the two men put aside their pride and met to discuss their differences and to explore the possibility of partial agreement. The talks led to speculation on the birth of an Afrikaner-Zulu alliance of convenience as the dominant political force in the 1990s.



Dr Koornhof... he also received 'love and peace' message

That may be premature. But, like the presence of Mr Botha at Zion City, the Botha-Buthelezi rapprochement is a reminder that the struggle in South Africa is largely one for the allegiance of the black community, and that the Afrikaner-controlled State will not be without black support, however qualified it may be, as long as it has power to wield and patronage to dispense.



Chief Buthelezi... offended during face-to-face talks?

Azapo calls big indaba

Sawo fan 12

117

12/4/85

THE southern Transvaal region of Azapo will hold its regional council meeting at the Bosmont Hotel on Sunday at 11 am.

The meeting is expected to address itself to several burning issues affecting the black communities in South Africa. An appeal has been made for delegates, supporters of the organisation and all other interested persons

to attend.

According to reliable information, the meeting will devote itself to formulating strategies in the wake of recent warnings by the Government, the present crisis in the country, and consolidating its position in most black areas.

A registration fee of R1 will be requested to help defray expenses.

Azapo, UDF appeal for pupils' calm

Sowetan 12/4/85



11A

TWO black organisations yesterday appealed to pupils to exercise restraint following this week's student violence which left one person dead and three others seriously injured.

No group within the black community had the right to take law into their hands and execute other people, the United Democratic Front (UDF) and Azanian People's Organisation said.

The two organisations were reacting to the death of Mr Reginald Khumalo (17), who was set alight when students from Forte High in Dobsonville stormed out of

their classes and took to the streets on a "revenge mission". Two other youths were injured, but the principal of Meadowlands High yesterday denied they were students at his school.

The UDF said: "It is important that within our communities there should be structures which enjoy the confidence of people and to which gangsters who molest students and community members can be called to account. No group within our communities should have the right to take law into their hands and execute people without giving them the right to

answer and defend themselves."

Azapo said it could not condone such "wanton acts of black-upon-black violence," urging students to exercise restraint.

Leaders flay PW's Moria visit

President P W Botha's political pilgrimage to Moria City at the weekend has set the cat among the pigeons. The issue is still being discussed with anger and accusations of political opportunism.

The SOWETAN has been inundated with calls from political organisations and members of the community with President Botha and the young leader of the Zion Christian Church, Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane, coming under heavy criticism.

Organisations that have expressed their anger are the United Democratic Front, Azanian People's Organisation, Azanian Students' Movement, the African National Congress, and the South African Council of Churches.

President Botha has been accused of political opportunism, and the media accused him of supporting this by inflating figures of the gathering at Moria.

Newspapers claimed close to about three million people were at the meeting while a reasonable figure is that not more than 500 000 people were at the occasion.



MASSES WILL LEARN: Mr Patrick Lekota of the UDF.

Christian leaders of meddling in politics, but the man at its helm has been allowed to address a church gathering on the same political subject.

It is a known fact, throughout the country, that the majority of the church's members are either semi-illiterate or illiterate and this could be seen in the applause they charitably gave after the President's utterances. Bishop Desmond Tutu, Nobel Peace Prize winner and



UNDER FIRE: Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane of the ZCC.

By SELLO RABOTHATA

such a large number over a period of four days, which is an unqualified impossibility. Now, with this impossibility, one shudders to imagine what the place looked like after Easter Monday.

The UDF's publicity secretary, Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, said "President Botha's visit was calculated to undercut the growing resistance to apartheid. He

Dr Beyers Naude, general secretary of the SACC, said it is of importance to note that the Government has tried to build up a good relationship with the ZCC over the years.

"It is also important to note that the Government is trying to prove to the outside world that it has the support of many blacks. But it remains to be seen if the ZCC will continue to

grotesque in the light of the carnage perpetrated in the Eastern Cape.

"The audience at Moria was a captive audience — a real response of black people to the pain and degradation at the hands of the powers that can never be love for them."

He said the Moria spectacle sought — as it has sought previously — to give credibility to the



GIGANTIC FRAUD: Azapo's Imram Moosa.

settler regime as well as to various puppetstans.

"Far too much talk about black and white talking together today, as if the black man in some way is responsible for the rampant racism that plagues our land. The only item on Azapo's agenda is the return of power to the black people," he said.

The ZCC leadership

should reconsider its old tradition of association with the Government representatives in line with the feeling of the black community, according to the president of Azasam Mr Thami Mcerwa. The black community views the exploitation of a religious service by Mr Botha for his rejected dispensation as the worst of hypocrisy and profanity.

nism.

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President Botha has been accused of political opportunism, and the media accused him of supporting this by inflating figures of the gathering at Moria.

Newspapers claimed close to about three million people were at the meeting while a reasonable figure is that not more than 500 000 people were at the occasion.

Most people argued that Bishop Lekganyane was wrong in inviting President Botha in the first place especially with the present political atmosphere in the country, and hardly a month after the Langa shootings or at any other time for that matter.

The South African Government has always accused some noted



MASSES WILL LEARN: Mr Patrick Lekota of the UDF.



UNDER FIRE: Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane of the ZCC.

Christian leaders of meddling in politics, but the man at its helm has been allowed to address a church gathering on the same political subject.

It is a known fact, throughout the country, that the majority of the church's members are either semi-illiterate or illiterate and this could be seen in the applause they charitably gave after the President's utterances. Bishop Desmond Tutu, Nobel Peace Prize winner and Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg said: "They seemed to be programmed".

If the "unreasonable" figure of close to about three million "congregants" is granted and accepted by members of the community and overseas viewers and readers, one wonders if toilet facilities would have been provided for

such a large number over a period of four days, which is an unqualified impossibility. Now, with this impossibility, one shudders to imagine what the place looked like after Easter Monday.

The UDF's publicity secretary, Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, said "President Botha's visit was calculated to undercut the growing resistance to apartheid. He hoped by that visit to convince the masses that apartheid is acceptable.

"Our contention is that he is mistaken. The masses will learn and know from their experience that apartheid is a systematic destruction of black family life, the denial of human rights, and the denial of citizenship to them in the land of their birth."

By SELLO RABOTHATA

Dr Beyers Naude, general secretary of the SACC, said it is of importance to note that the Government has tried to build up a good relationship with the ZCC over the years.

"It is also important to note that the Government is trying to prove to the outside world that it has the support of many blacks. But it remains to be seen if the ZCC will continue to support a policy of apartheid that discriminates against thousands of their members' livelihood in the urban areas," he said.

Azapo, regarded the whole episode as a gigantic fraud. The publicity secretary Mr Imram Moosa said: "The honey-sweet words said by President Botha sounded particularly

grotesque in the light of the carnage perpetrated in the Eastern Cape.

"The audience at Moria was a captive audience — a real response of black people to the pain and degradation at the hands of the powers that can never be love for them."

He said the Moria spectacle sought — as it has sought previously — to give credibility to the

April 13 1985

W/C ARGUS 13/4/85 (11K) [initials]

PAC men fear for their lives

Weekend Argus Africa News Service Service

MASERU. — Members of the Pan Africanist Congress in Lesotho live in fear of their lives following a handgrenade and rifle attack on a PAC residence here.

Grenade and rifle attack

A member of the PAC was slightly injured when armed men attacked a house where 19 members of the organisation live.

Police are still continuing their investigations into the incident, which happened on Wednesday night.

The injured man was named by Radio Lesotho as Mr Johnson Galela.

PAC men hid under beds as the residence was attacked with handgrenades and rifle fire. The windows were shattered by handgrenade blasts and bullets pierced the iron roof.

About 20 empty cartridges were found nearby.

The attack followed an adoption of a resolution by the Youth League of the ruling Basotho National Party calling for the immediate deportation of all members of the PAC who failed to obey the authorities.

Six members shot dead

The resolution also called for the immediate expulsion of other refugees and expatriates who did not respect the authority of the Government.

Six members of the PAC were killed a month ago in an alleged shoot-out with members of the Lesotho Para-Military Force in Qacha's Nek, bordering the Transkei.

The area has been officially declared a "sensitive zone", where infiltrators of the Lesotho Liberation Army enter Lesotho to carry out acts of sabotage against Prime Minister Chief Leabua Jonathan's Government.

Government wastes time talking about trivia — Buti

11A E. Post 13/4/85
JOHANNESBURG — The Government should be pressing for a policy which looks into the political future of the country's people rather than talking about such "trivialities" as the constitutional rights of the black man in the urban areas, according to Alexandra's Mayor, Ds Sam Buti.

"I strongly hold that the type of dialogue blacks should engage themselves in is that which does not betray the ideals and authentic political roots of the black man and the true opposition in this country," Mr Buti said in a statement.

He said it was "sad to say" that the State President, Mr P W Botha, "has still not addressed himself to the problems of this country".

"His recent utterances can never be acceptable to the oppressed people.

"I repeat my earnest plea to those so-called 'urban black' community leaders and 'homeland' leaders who have been invited to the discussions (with the Government) not to fall into the trap of propagat-

ing and promoting apartheid, which is so vehemently rejected by the majority of the black people in the country and internationally."

These "community leaders" should not pose as though they were mandated by blacks to discuss future national constitutional matters with the "racist South African Government", Mr Buti said.

He called for "reconciliation which should be coupled with the unconditional release of all political prisoners, amnesty to all political exiles, the unbanning of the African National Congress, the Pan African Congress and black political movements, so that Nelson Mandela and others can participate in constitutional discussions".

Such confusing concepts as "urban black", "people in the homelands", "citizens" of national and independent South African black states were born out of the apartheid policy of the National Party Government and were totally misleading, he said. — Sapa

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homes C. P. 200
14/4/85
attacked

HOUSES occupied by members of the Pan-Africanist Congress in Maseru were raided by unidentified and heavily-armed men yesterday, SABC reported late yesterday.

It said many shots were fired and hand-grenades thrown at the houses.

One man was believed to have been injured and taken to hospital.

Last month six PAC members were shot dead in a shoot-out with Lesotho soldiers near the Transkei border.

ANC slams PW's ZCC talk

THE AFRICAN National Congress has joined several organisations in slamming President PW Botha's speech at the ZCC's 75th anniversary at Moria last weekend.

The ANC said ZCC members supported its struggle against white rule in South Africa even

though worshippers responded warmly to Mr Botha's speech.

The ANC said Mr Botha took advantage of this religious ceremony to subtly intimidate the church authority to give him a platform.

SA Council of Churches general secretary Beyers Naude criti-

cised Mr Botha's interpretation of Romans 13, which he used to call for unconditional obedience to State authority.

Black Priest Solidarity Group member Rev Elia Themba said it was "immoral for Mr Botha to use a religious platform to propagate his ideology".

(11A) (5) C. P. van 14/4/85

PAC set to attend summit

Sowetan 15/4/85

A SUMMIT to discuss recent developments in southern Africa, with special emphasis on Namibia, will be held from April 17 to 21 in New Delhi, India.

One of the organi-

sations taking part in the summit will be the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), according to a statement released by the organisation at the weekend. The organisation will be represented by presi-

dent Mr Nyathi Pokela, publicity secretary Mr Gora Ebrahim, foreign secretary, Mr Johnson Mlambo, and East Africa representative, Mr Thobile Gola.

117
220

According to the organisation, the president will also hold talks with several Asian delegations, after attending another summit in Bandung, Indonesia.

Meanwhile the or-

ganisation has slammed recent developments in South Africa and claimed that the South African government was resorting to its last weapon, the gun, to resolve the problems in the sub-continent.

"The Azanian masses can no longer be deceived, can no longer be misled by stooges, can no longer be intimidated and can no longer wait for their liberation. They have correctly decided to intensify

the struggle internally," the statement ended.

The PAC has been in exile since 1960 after being banned by the Government after the Sharpeville 1960 shootings.

SOWETAN

Daily Mirror

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Sowetan

UDF youths bar BC supporters from mass funeral

10A

SNUBBED

IT WAS A day of tension when the largest crowd ever seen in the Eastern Cape gathered inside and outside the KwaNobuhle sports stadium in Uitenhage for the weekend joint funeral service of 29 victims of the recent unrest. About 80 000 mourners attended.

It was also the day when youths wearing T-shirts of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress (Peyco) pointedly intimidated members of organisations espousing the black consciousness philosophy. Peyco is an affiliate of the UDF.

The "bullies" stood at the gates of the stadium and forced black consciousness supporters to take off T-shirts with the motifs of their organisations, or leave.

OWN CORRESPONDENT

And, a message of support from the national president of the Azanian Peoples Organisation (Azapo), Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, to the bereaved families and community of Uitenhage was not read during the funeral service which was dominated from the beginning to the end by UDF organisations.

Coffins

Not a single representative of the bereaved families was included on

the agenda.

The 29 coffins of victims of the police shootings of Blood Thursday — containing the bodies of people ranging in years from 12 to 50 — were placed on tables near the centre of the field for the duration of the service and later carried by mourners to the cemetery about a kilometre away.

The president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Dr Allan Boesak, told the mourners that he did not

think God wanted the SA government to continue ruling the country because it did not know what it was doing.

He warned President PW Botha and Mr Louis le Grange, Minister of Law and Order, that their day of judgment was very near.

Agitator

It was often said when people died that their passing was the will of God, but the police killings of March 21 were not God's will, Dr Boesak said.

The Anglican Bishop

of Johannesburg, the Right Rev Desmond Tutu, said all too often the Government blamed agitators for unrest in black townships. But the greatest agitator in South Africa was apartheid.

The bishop said black people were not against whites, but rejected injustice, oppression and exploitation.

Recent revelations that police had been ordered to "eliminate all petrol bombers" showed that black lives were very cheap. Several black people were killed every day and it appeared nobody cared, he said.

He made a strong plea to the people of Uitenhage to stop burning those they had dif-

ferences with. He understood actions like setting people on fire were motivated by anger, but burning people would only please the enemy.

Bishop Tutu said in their struggle blacks had used methods they could be proud of, so that on the day of liberation they could look back with no regret.

"Damelin makes it easy!"

Mr. J.P. Brummer, Principal, Damelin Correspondence College.



ment said.

^{RDM 15/1/85}
R1 350m budget wins approval (117)

PARLIAMENT. — The R1 350-million Own Affairs Budget of the House of Representatives was read a second time yesterday, with unanimous support from all parties.

In his reply to the debate, the Minister of the Budget, Mr Andrew Julius, said he appreciated the fact that although representatives had identified the budget's shortcomings, they had also expressed understanding of the difficulties created by the current economic circumstances.

The Government had admitted that political change and reform had to come, but the Labour Party would do everything in its power to bring about a "greater tempo" of change.

Anti-terror Bill read second time

PARLIAMENT. — A Bill which proposes more effective measures for the protection of public buildings against terror attacks was read a second time at a joint sitting of all three Houses yesterday.

Introducing the Second Reading of the Control of Access to Public Premises and Vehicles Bill, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said terror attacks had a far-reaching and demoralising effect on employees in public buildings.

Tighter security measures would be introduced at Government buildings as well as at other premises such as those occupied by community councils, he said. — Sapa.

Bill controlling HSRC



Azapo flays UDF action

By ALI PHAKI

THE barring of black consciousness supporters from attending the mass funeral of the Uitenhage unrest victims on Saturday was yesterday met with strong condemnation by the Azanian People's Organisation.

According to reports in Sunday papers members of Azapo and the National Forum who had their T-shirts on were refused entry into the stadium unless they covered or removed them.

A message of condolence from the Azapo

UFA
Sowetan 15/4/85
president, Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, was also not read at the funeral, which saw members of the United Democratic Front playing a leading role.

Representatives of Azapo in Uitenhage yesterday confirmed the reports, adding that culprits were members of the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress (Peyco),

which is an affiliate of the UDF.

The Uitenhage Azapo members also claimed they had been given a week to disband their organisation and join the UDF — an ultimatum they ignored. A spokesman said this was three weeks ago.

Members of Azapo said when they visited the bereaved families,

they were told that "strict orders" had been given to the families not to hold discussions with any other organisation except the UDF.

Surprise

"This type of action will never liberate the black man in this country. Instead, it will only lead to black against black violence, vice-

president of the Transvaal region of Azapo, Mr Dan Habeli said.

"Time and time again organisation fall prey to the mistake of placing organisations in the fore with the question of liberation taking the back seat.

"All the people who were buried there did not die for Azapo, UDF or the ANC, but died

for the liberation of the black man. It comes therefore as a surprise to us that our members should be barred from the funeral and even have orders that they should not have their T-shirts on," Mr Habeli added.

The SOWETAN could not obtain a comment from the UDF late yesterday.

Bishop backs anti-SA protest

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NEW YORK. — Bishop Desmond Tutu has now sent two telegrams to Columbia University students pledging his support for their protest against investment in South Africa, student leaders said yesterday.

Standing outside Hamilton Hall on the Columbia Campus, sit-in leader Mr Daniel Fass said the bishop was concerned at the way the university authorities had tried to use his name in support of their position.

"He has sent two telegrams to us, and in each one he has pledged support for our protest. We are very pleased."

The students want Columbia to sell R76-million in stocks it owns in 26 major corporations that do business in South Africa, including IBM, Ford, General Motors, RCA, the Washington Post and CBS.

More than 100 students began the around-the-clock protest on April 4, chaining and barricading the main entrance to Hamilton Hall, an administration and classroom building. Their numbers have swelled to hundreds during the day, and the rallies have attracted prominent political activists including singer Pete Seeger.

A black civil rights group has also applauded the protest.

Mr Benjamin Hooks, leader of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, said the NAACP sent the students a telegram on Friday welcoming "those who are now joining the struggle against apartheid".

The students also have been encouraged by Columbia alumni who staged similar but more tumultuous demonstrations in 1968 to protest against defence-related research by the university during the Vietnam War.

With the sit-in continuing to get saturation media coverage in the United States, parallels are being

drawn between it and the Vietnam protest movement.

In 1968, five university blocks were destroyed in rioting, and many students went to hospital.

Organisers say they believe apartheid could become as important an issue in the United States as Vietnam was in the 60s and early 70s.

Other central figures in the protest are Senator Gary Hart and the Rev Jesse Jackson, both of whom have sent messages of support.

Yesterday there was a festival atmosphere on campus as demonstrators basked in warm, spring sunshine on the steps of Hamilton Hall, which students have renamed "Mandela Hall".

The building has been daubed with slogans, pamphlets and posters denouncing South Africa and investment in the country.

● Bishop Tutu and Governor Mario Cuomo of New York will receive honorary doctorates from the University of Rochester, New York, on May 12, it was announced yesterday.

University officials said the awards would be made at a ceremony on May 12.

Bishop Tutu will receive an honorary doctorate in divinity, and Mr Cuomo, who is fast emerging as one of the most powerful figures in US politics, will receive an honorary doctorate in law.

It will be Bishop Tutu's first visit to the United States since his installation as Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg.

Sources say that scores of universities and institutions throughout the US are seeking Bishop Tutu's acceptance of speaking engagements. The sources say his trip to Rochester could turn into a full-scale tour of the country.

Mr Cuomo is generally regarded as a likely candidate for the Democratic Party's presidential nomination in 1988. — Sapa-AP.

UDF speaks on BC harassment

IT IS unlikely that the United Democratic Front members harassed black consciousness supporters or activists at the mass funeral service of the Uitenhage unrest victims held at the KwaNobuhle Stadium on Saturday.

This was the reaction of the UDF publicity secretary, Mr Terror Lekota, to reports carried in Sunday newspapers and *The SOWETAN* yesterday, that Azapo and National Forum members who had their T-shirts on were prevented from attending the service by youths wearing T-shirts with motifs backing the UDF.

"Our reports indicate that there was a fair number of men and women wearing Azapo and National Forum T-shirts in the stadium.

Sowetan 10/4/83 **Moments of distress**

"The alleged behaviour would be unlike the attitude of the UDF towards other organisations. Secondly, it is not true that our activists went from home to home of the bereaved families telling them not to talk to other organisations," Mr Lekota said.

"But because the Eastern Cape is a strong UDF base, families may have turned to the UDF on their own in their moments of distress, and any unknown organisation in the area may therefore have been shunned, but certainly not as a result of instigation by our activists," Mr Lekota added.

"Such behaviour would violate the statement of the recent national general council that we must seek to emphasise the point of common concern between ourselves and other anti-apartheid organisations," he added.

Azapo slams UDF action

11A

~~By Jon Qwelane~~

Stan

15/4/85

UITENHAGE — The cold war between the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the United Democratic Front (UDF) reached a nasty level at the weekend during the joint funerals of 29 victims of recent unrest.

The mass funeral was dominated by the UDF and its affiliates.

At the entrances to the kwaNobuhle Sports Stadium where the service was held, youths wearing T-shirts with motifs backing the National Forum and Azapo were ordered to take off the shirts — or leave the service — by alleged members of Peyco (Port Elizabeth Youth Congress) and Uyco (Uitenhage Youth Congress), UDF affiliates.

Last night the Uitenhage branch executive committee of Azapo said it condemned the actions of the UDF.

"Azapo views this in a very serious light and we shall never allow a section of the community to ban us After this incident we are left wondering who our enemy is — the white racist regime or a section of our community," the committee statement said.

It said its members had given support to the bereaved families since the shootings on March 21. At the service a message from Azapo's national president, Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, was not read.

The Uitenhage leadership of the UDF could not be reached for comment today.

● See Page 11.

Solutions for gloom at the top

THE South African rollercoaster of hope and despair has plunged the country in its deepest gloom since 1976.

The problems all look intractable. The Government seems unable to restore stability either through massive repression or thoroughgoing reform.

Black resistance appears to be hardening every day. Foreign investors are getting increasingly jittery. The only groups who believe that things are going their way are Rightwing reactionaries and Leftwing revolutionaries.

But is it all as bad as this? South Africa is the kind of society where the political euphoria of the one day (how jolly we all were in 1980) easily turns into the suicidal hangover of the next.

Let us rather try to intellectually "unpack" the political crisis and see if there

are rational grounds for hope or despair.

Herewith the following suggestions:

1 The South African crisis is organic with deep roots in the poor performance of the economy

We must accept that the downturn of the economy is not cyclical but structural. Our mineral and agricultural exports are facing slackening demand and growing competition.

Between 1974 and 1984 the average annual growth rate dropped by two to three points compared to the previous decade. Only half the necessary jobs were created and since the early 1970s the unemployment has probably doubled to a figure of more than 25%.

About half of the black population now live in absolute poverty close to an affluent first world society. At the base of the township revolts lie mass poverty, hunger and suffering.

2 The sluggish economy has destroyed the base for a policy of co-optation to stabilise blacks.

Throughout the past decade the Government leaders have said (more in private than in public) that blacks are less interested in meaningful political rights than in advancing socially and economically.

This may (or may not) be true in times of high growth; it certainly is a dangerous fallacy when the economy fails to deliver the goods.

Political co-optation of browns and blacks by way of separate local authorities and houses of parliament can only succeed if there is a large enough prosperity for brown and black elites to dispense patronage and for the subsistence expectations of the masses to be met.

Otherwise the wrath of the community is turned on those who profit from the "system". This has been tragically happening in the violence directed at black councillors to force them to resign.

3 The system of indirect rule in the form of black local authorities has collapsed.

Failing to provide these authorities with real resources, the Government has in fact, been asking the brown and black communities to administer their own poverty. The attempt failed miserably.

A total of 34 councils were introduced in terms of the Black Local Authorities Act of 1983. The intention was to have 103 elected councils operational at the end of 1984.

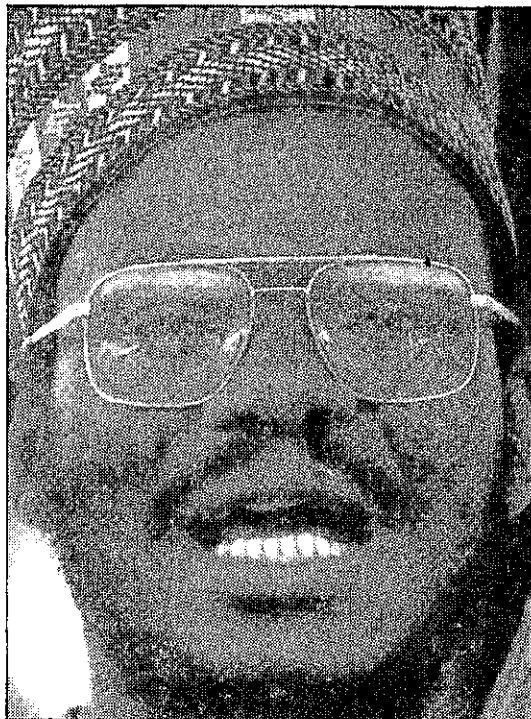
Currently the SA Council of Churches knows of only three that are functioning;

HERMANN GILIOMEE

RDM 16/4/85

IIA

CHIEF GATSHA BUTHELEZI Government shying away from the heart of report proposal



the Urban Foundation puts it at six. There are no real grounds for the hope, as expressed by President Botha, that structures for black political participation can be built up from the base of black local authorities. There is no foundation.

4 There is limited room for adaptations on the middle or regional level.

Mr Chris Heunis's plans for Regional Service Councils comprised of black and white local authorities are a typical technocratic solution unlikely to survive the blast of the recent disturbances. There are, in fact, no black local authorities to draw into these councils.

More promising is Dr Gerrit Viljoen's initiative to draw representatives from Kwazulu, the Natal provincial administration and the central Government into a joint committee of planning for the entire Natal-Kwazulu region.

The three-year old proposals on planning by the Buthelezi Commission have been dusted off and are now being implemented by Government, without, of course, acknowledging copyright.

The Government is still shying away from the real heart of the Commission's proposals, namely that such a council be given executive functions and become the effective regional authority. But the Government may have to come round to it.

The Kwazulu-Natal initiative is possible because Chief Gatsha Buthelezi possesses a mass base and thus can take political risks and invest the council with credibility.

In the Eastern Cape there are no credible local or regional black leaders.

The black revolts continue exactly because there is a vacuum of black leadership and authority. White South Africa should once and for all learn the lesson that there is one thing more dangerous than a strong black political party, and that is the absence of it.

For durable stability in the Eastern Cape there is no solution but to devise ways in which genuine leaders based on mass organisations can come forward without fear of the security laws.

5 The unrest and the political vacuum in the townships can only be handled by drawing black leaders into Government at the very top level.

The current disturbances suggest one important lesson: The police and the army cannot deal with the disturbances except as firemen putting out the worst flames, leaving the embers to smoulder on.

There are three vital reasons why four or five black leaders, both urban and homeland should now be brought into Government at the very top:

(a) Peace will only be restored on a durable basis in the townships if the police represent a Government including both white and black leaders.

(b) No progress will be made in black local and regional government before credible black leaders and multi-racial institutions are put in place at the top.

(c) South Africa's growing isolation will only be curbed once unilateral (white) constitutional planning and development is replaced by joint white-black initiative.

6 A joint white-black council or forum needs to move quickly on the two major

issues of citizenship for blacks and influx control.

The white-black polarisation has increased so much that any such council will have to move quickly to meet the two demands which nearly every black, from the most conservative councillor to the most radical revolutionary demand: To move around freely in search of jobs and houses, and to have full South African citizenship.

If the Government does not intend abolishing influx control as distinct from tinkering with it, or to grant full citizenship, it should rather desist from any attempts to get a white-black council going. It will only be stabilising.

7 It is silly to suggest that any attempt to reform South Africa will be "too little too late".

The basic structures of the South African state are still stable. They are not challenged by township riots.

Over the short to medium term South Africa can be ruled directly on the basis of an apartheid system. There is only one rider: A fully fledged white dictatorship is costly.

As Heribert Adam wrote seven years ago: The costs of apartheid are rising and there will come a point where middle class whites will discover that the obvious benefits are outweighed by the costs in the form of escalating confrontations between the blacks and the police, disinvestment, emigration of highly skilled whites, and low economic growth.

The Botha Government is basically a middle class government. Will it discover its true interests before it is really too late?

Buti's home attacked

By

MOJALEFA MOSEKI

Sawetlan 10/1/8
THE windows of the backyard rooms of the mayor of Alexandra, the Rev Sam Buti, were smashed when a group of youths attacked his home on Sunday.

Several windows of the newly-completed double-storey house of the town clerk, Mr Arthur Magerman, were also smashed by the youths.

Before proceeding to Mr Buti's house, the youth demanded petrol from an elderly man who got out of the car and pleadingly raised his hands. They left him and continued. Two shots were heard and the youth ran in different directions.

No one was injured in both incidents.

Both Mr Buti and Mr Magerman were not available for comment yesterday. The attack was the third on Mr Buti's property this year. The police public relations unit in Pretoria could not confirm the incident.

The youth was from the launching of the International Year of the Youth programme organised by the Alexandra Youth Congress at the nearby Nobuhle Hall. The programme featured six other youth organisations in the township but excluded the Alexandra Junior Town Council.

Sex laws: Blacks 'not impressed'

By ALI MPHAKI

BLACK leaders and organisations were yesterday not "impressed" with the news that the Mixed Marriages Act and the sex-across-the-colour-bar clause of the Immorality Act are to be scrapped.

A committee of all parliamentary houses has recommended this, and the Government has accepted the recommendations.

In a statement released from Durban, the United Democratic Front (UDF) publicity secretary, Mr Terror Lekota said: "Freedom of sex as such is not a basic issue of the South African problem, which is why the Nationalist chose it."

"What is crucial and must be repealed are those laws which deny the majority of the people of South Africa political, residential, labour and their citizenship rights."

"Black people want influx control laws repealed and their imprisoned leaders unconditionally released, so that a democratic constitution can be drafted and peace restored to this, our lovely land," Mr Lekota said.

President of the Soweto Civic Association, Dr Nthato Motlana said: "We are not interested in the repeal of these laws. We want effective participation in the running of our country."

"But only if two laws can be repealed — influx control and the Group Areas Act — can we begin to take a serious look at the Government. At the moment we think they are playing with time," he said.

The Transvaal vice-president of Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Dan Habedi, said: "Attending in a half-hearted way the social problems of our country cannot be impressive to a people who have been politically oppressed, socially degraded and economically exploited for over 30 years."

"The scrapping of sex laws is a reform means of stemming the growing tide of political activity in this country. The Government is using reform as a counter revolutionary strategy."

Councillor's home petrol bombed

Sowetan 16/6/85
11A
[Signature]

By **MONK NKOMO**

THE HOUSE of a black town councillor was petrol-bombed and a 23-year-old man killed after being indecently assaulted by his male friend in separate incidents in Pretoria at the weekend.

Councillor Matthew Mahlangu, former deputy mayor of Atteridgeville, was not at home when unidentified persons threw petrol bombs into his house at 49

Sompane Street, on Saturday.

Brigadier H A du Plessis, chief CID officer for the Northern Transvaal yesterday said the petrol bombs were hurled through the window causing damage estimated at R2 700. Nobody was injured. At the time of the incident, Mr Mahlangu was at-

tending his mother-in-law's funeral in So-shanguve.

Meanwhile police are investigating the death of a 48-year-old patient who was found hanging from a tree near the Westfort Hospital in Pretoria West on Sunday. Brigadier du Plessis said Mr David Mudau, a patient at the hospital was found at about 4pm. No foul play is suspected.

Police have arrested a 21-year-old man who al-

legedly assaulted his male friend sexually and then fatally struck him with a blunt instrument during an argument on Saturday. Brigadier du Plessis said the two men shared a bed. One of the men woke up during the night and realised that he had been indecently assaulted. An argument ensued and one of the men was struck on the head. He was rushed to the HF Verwoerd hospital, but died shortly after admission.

Three people died violently in Pretoria at the weekend.

RDM 17/4/85 (11A)

Buthelezi states his case

INKATHA remains committed to opposing apartheid and is not an ally of the National Party, the Chief Minister of Kwazulu and leader of Inkatha, Chief Mangiliso Gatscha Buthelezi, says in a telex to the Rand Daily Mail.

The statement attacks an analysis by the Mail's Political Editor of the State President, Mr P W Botha's, address to the Zionist Christian Church at Moria over the Easter weekend.

In his article Laurence compared the address by President Botha to the ZCC with his recent talks with Chief Buthelezi, describing both as bid by Mr Botha to widen his power base.

Chief Buthelezi rejects Laurence's conclusion that talks between Mr Botha and himself "led to speculation of an Afrikaner-Zulu alliance of convenience as the dominant political force in the 1990s".

In outlining Inkatha's position, Chief Buthelezi says:

"The picture painted is one in which Inkatha and the ZCC are allies of the National Party in the most abhorrent ideology on the continent of Africa.

"Mr Laurence casts myself and

Inkatha in the role of co-oppressors with the National Party.

"He sees my politics and Inkatha's as ethnic politics and he sinks to the level of making insulting and maligning remarks at my and Inkatha's expense.

"Inkatha is a national force which has burst across all apartheid's political boundaries and is supported by millions of people across the length and breadth of the country.

"It is an important voice of the people and we are entitled to defend our right to pursue the tactics and strategies which the people have determined for us.

"What Mr Laurence calls accusations against the ANC are no more than an insistence that we have the right to pursue our own conscience and are entitled to reject the calls made on us by the ANC's mission in exile to commit ourselves to an armed struggle which will not succeed.

"Mr P W Botha does not share my motivation when he talks about the people I regard as my brothers and sisters in exile. It is wrong of Mr Laurence to tar me with the P W Botha brush.

"Inkatha is committed to non-violence both for moral and logistic reasons.

"Its tactics and strategies are thus defined in a particular direction and they are totally committed in every respect to eradicate apartheid for the scourge that it is.

"Mr Laurence totally misrepresents the meeting I had with the State President in November last year. It was a private meeting arranged by one of South Africa's leading businessmen.

"I have not met Mr Botha officially as State President since 1980.

"I vehemently oppose the new Constitution, and I reject the level at which the State President is attempting to introduce reforms.

"I have refused to sanction Inkatha's involvement in local town council elections and I have publicly stated that I will have nothing to do with the informal non-statutory forum.

"I have also quite clearly said that the necessary step which the State President has to take before a programme of meaningful reform can get under way is to issue a statement of intent in which black and white leaders commit themselves to black-white power-sharing.

"While I reject violence, I have warned Mr Botha and white South Africa that the process of polarisation is heading this country to-

wards bloodshed and I have said publicly both here and abroad that if the masses in South Africa ask me to 'go to the bush', as a democrat I would have to reconsider my whole position.

"I preach defiance of apartheid to Inkatha and to black South Africa and I plead constantly for white South Africa, and the National Party in particular, to recognise that if every strategy based on non-violence is exploited and fails, then and then only will black South Africa be justified in resorting to violence.

"I point out that there are stones left unturned and that there are political opportunities left unexploited and that because this is so, there is as yet no moral justification for the use of violence to bring about change in this country.

"Mr Laurence is totally unjustified in talking about Inkatha as he has done in this article," Chief Buthelezi says.

● Patrick Laurence replies: The article described Chief Buthelezi as a tough-minded politician seeking to drive a hard bargain with President Botha to push him away from apartheid toward an interim solution of power-sharing. That offers a different perspective on the article from Chief Buthelezi's interpretation of it.

No UDF visa application

EAST LONDON 16/4/88
Mr Steve Tshwete, the president of the Border branch of the United Democratic Front, had not applied for a visa or a residence permit to stay in South Africa, Mr T. M. Mdlalana, the lawyer representing Mr Tshwete, said yesterday.

Mr Mdlala said his client had appealed against the supreme court decision which

turned down his application to stay in South Africa without restrictions.

The supreme court had found that the actions of the Department of Internal Affairs were in accordance with the law in demanding that Mr Tshwete be in possession of a visa in order to enter South Africa and have a residence permit to stay in the country.

A spokesman for the

regional office of the Department of Internal Affairs, Mr D. van Schalkwyk, confirmed that his office had not received an application for a visa from Mr Tshwete.

The regional office of the Department of Co-operation and Development would not confirm or deny whether Mr Tshwete had applied for a residence permit yesterday. — DDR.

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Freedom Charter move

THE House of Delegates was asked yesterday to consider adopting the Freedom Charter formulated by the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses more than 30 years ago as a guideline for a future South Africa.

Reports by Mail reporters and

No solution to peace says Buti

Sometan 17/6/85 (117)

IF the highly volatile South African political situation is not properly addressed then no peaceful solution can be reached the Reverend Sam Palo Buti, mayor of Alexandra township said yesterday.

Mr Buti said the result of the present situation will be an escalation of violence and civil uprising as happening today. He was speaking on three of the most controversial and topical issues; the Cabinet committee to consider a constitution for urban black communities; the non-statutory forum to discuss a constitution for blacks; and the release of Nelson Mandela.

He said he realised a danger after all these announcements. "The structures still remain

the same in that they are fundamental structures entrenched in the Nationalist Party's oppressive apartheid system.

"I still repeat my earnest plea to those so-called 'urban blacks' community leaders and homeland leaders who have been invited to the discussions. Be they on the Cabinet Committee level or on the Non-Statutory Forum level not to fall into the trap of consciously or unconsciously propagating and promoting the policy of apartheid which is so vehemently rejected by the majority of the black people in this country and internationally," he said.

Mr Buti said he advised those "so-called" black community leaders not to pose as if they have been mandated by

the black South African people to discuss future national constitutional matters with the "racist" South African Government. The terms and references of both the Cabinet Committee and the Non-Statutory Forum are unacceptable.

"Before any talk on the three issues can be entertained, I strongly reiterate my plea for reconciliation which should be coupled with the unconditional release of all political prisoners; amnesty to all political exiles; the unbanning of the African National Congress (ANC); the Pan African Congress (PAC) and black political governments, so that Mandela and others can be able to be mandated by the people to participate in constitutional discussions," Rev Buti said.

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April 1985

(11A)

Funerals: UDF, Azapo rift widens

UITENHAGE — The cold war between the Azanian People's Organisation and the United Democratic Front reached a nasty level at the weekend during the joint funerals here of victims of recent unrest.

The mass funeral was dominated by the UDF and its affiliates and at the entrances of the kwanobuhle Sports Stadium where the service was held,

youths wearing T-shirts with motifs backing the UDF, ordered Azapo and National Forum supporters to remove their shirts — or leave the service. Azapo and the National Forum espouse the Black Consciousness philosophy, which advocates black exclusivism and is at crossroads with the UDF policy of political cooperation between blacks and whites.

This week the Uitenhage branch executive committee of Azapo said it strongly condemned the actions of the UDF against its members at the funerals, and said the matter did not develop into fighting between the two groups because "our comrades were there to pay our last respects to those who were killed by the white racist police". Azapo views this in a

very serious light, and we shall never allow a section of the community to ban us. Azapo has got a right to exist in Uitenhage. After this incident we are left wondering who our enemy is — the white racist regime or a section of our community," the committee said. It said its members had always been in contact with the bereaved families since the

shootings of March 21, and had given them material support.

MESSAGE

At the service a message sent by Azapo's national president, Mr. Ishmael Mkhabela, was not read. Tensions between the two organisations became critical during the recent visit to South Africa by United States Senator Edward Kennedy. The UDF, while not offi-

cially declining to endorse the visit, allowed its affiliate to participate while Azapo demonstrated against the senator. A few days later affiliates of the two organisations were involved in a bloody fight in Tembisa in which several people were seriously injured. The Uitenhage leadership of the UDF could not be reached for comment today.

RDM 17/4/85

Zimbabwe to expel two ex-SA unionists

LIA

HARARE. Two South Africans, both members of a Leftwing trade union movement, are to be expelled from Zimbabwe for "subversive activities", the government announced yesterday.

In a statement to the Herald, Zimbabwe's main daily newspaper, the Minister of State Security, Mr Emerson Munangagwa, said Mr David Hemson and Mr Darcy du Toit, members of the self-styled Marxist Work-

ers' Tendency of the African National Congress of South Africa, had been declared "undesirable" and were to be deported.

The two men were arrested on March 1 and were due to be released yesterday from Chikurubi prison near Harare.

Mrs Anneke Poppe, the Dutch wife of Mr du Toit, said she would be leaving for Holland either tomorrow or

Friday. Mr Hemson, who was detained in the late 70s by the SA authorities for his involvement in worker unrest in Natal, is expected to leave for Britain this week.

The arrest of the two men — along with Mrs Poppe and six black Zimbabwean trade unionists over six weeks ago — was greeted with demonstrations outside the Zimbabwe High Commission in London by British Leftists. — Sapa.

Lecturer says he saw police beat up student

Tygerberg Bureau

AN English lecturer at the University of the Western Cape told Bellville Magistrate's Court he saw "about four" policemen "severely beat" a student lying on the ground during unrest at the campus.

Mr David Attwell was giving evidence yesterday at the trial of 11 students charged with attending an illegal gathering at the university entrance on August 27 last year.

Mr Richard Flores, 22, Mr Lloyd Abrahams, 19, Mr John Johnson, 20, Mr Manuel Heyn, 22, Mr Noel da Silva, 18, Miss Estelle Pitt, 28, Miss Rose Samuel, 18, Miss Lillian Buckton, 24, Miss Gail Reagon, 18, Miss Nishani Harry, 19, and Miss Brenda Lakay, 22, pleaded not guilty.

The State alleges they were among a crowd holding placards, singing and giving black power salutes.

Mr Attwell said he felt the police had dealt out "harsh treatment" to Mr Abrahams, who was "in pain" from kicks on the ribs with boots. It was a "brutal" incident.

Because Mr Abrahams had been carrying a camera, Mr Attwell said, it had "crossed his mind" that the police would not want photographic evidence used.

Mr Abrahams said he was a member of a campus photographic society

and had been at the scene because he thought it would "make an interesting picture."

He said he was kicked by policemen before being dragged to a van.

"I saw the campus doctor later and the prescription mentioned injury to abdominal muscles."

Miss Pitt said she had not been a member of the gathering. She had gone to the scene because of "inquisitiveness". She tried explaining this to the policeman who arrested her.

"He wouldn't listen," she said.

Mr Flores said he did not know it was unlawful to stand in the university grounds talking to fellow students.

"I thought the university was autonomous," he said.

Vice-rector Professor Jaap du Randt told the court there was an agreement between the university administration and the police that they would go onto the campus only if summoned by himself or the rector.

"We didn't summon them on August 27 and I was surprised they came."

The hearing was postponed to May 21. Bail of R50 each was extended.

Mr A G du Plessis was on the Bench. Mr W P Welgemoed appeared for the State. Mr E Moosa and Mr A Adams represented the students.

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April 1985

DURBAN. — A founder-member of the National People's Party (NPP), ruling group in the House of Delegates, Mr A G "Atomic" Joosab, MP for Brickfield, said yesterday he had tendered his resignation from the party and hoped it would be tabled at today's party caucus meeting.

He said he had listed various reasons for wanting to quit, but was not prepared to disclose them "at this stage".

Mr Joosab said he had been under pressure to join the official opposition and from others to head a group of independents in the House to hold the balance of power between the NPP of the Chief Minister, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, and Solidarity of Dr Jagaram Reddy. — Sapa.

18/4/85 Star

Fosatu resolves to visit Langa's bereaved

(11A)

UITENHAGE -- In the wake of the Langa shootings three weeks ago in which at least 19 died, South Africa's largest group of unionised workers last night resolved to go to the grief-stricken community and put in perspective the sequence of events leading to the tragedy.

The Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu) also levelled serious charges against the United Democratic Front and its affiliate student group, the Congress of South

By Jon Qwelane

African Students. At a meeting attended by several hundred workers crammed inside the Jubilee Park hall, Fosatu charged that:

- A senior official of the United Democratic Front had hoodwinked many workers about the true position of funerals.
- The United Democratic Front and other organisations in the black community had a dictatorial attitude towards workers.
- Certain leaders of

particular organisations were students against workers.

● Those organisations deliberately ignored the reality that the liberation struggle would be won by the working class.

● It was usually a few people in certain political organisations who imposed their will on the majority after taking decisions alone.

The meeting decided to drop from the agenda an item on wage negotiations with Eastern Cape managements because the pay increases which they

failed to get today could always be negotiated and secured tomorrow, but the lives of their brothers and sisters could not.

For three hours the meeting discussed the role of political organisations.

Two resolutions were unanimously adopted and will be carried out immediately.

The first was that the Federation of South African Trade Unions should hold rallies in the Uitenhage townships of Lange, kwaNobuhle and Rosedale and invite organisations such as the

United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Students to publicly sort out differences and spell out their standpoints to the community.

The first rally will be held in kwaNobuhle on Sunday.

The second resolution was that pamphlets should be printed in Xhosa, English and Afrikaans clearly explaining the role the workers had played during and after the tragedy at Langa.

The pamphlets will be distributed all over Uitenhage.

The meeting heard that the Federation of South African Trade Unions had collected money for the bereaved families but it had been refused by organisations handling the funeral arrangements.

"When we decided to take it ourselves to the families we found that many needed it desperately," said Mr John Gomomo, vice-president of the National Automobile and Allied Workers Union. "It is such things which we will tell the public at our rallies."

Chief welcomes call for repeal of Act

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NM 11/11/85
African Affairs
Correspondent

ULUNDI—The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, says he applauds the decision of the Badenhorst Committee to call for the repeal of Section 16 of the Immorality Act and the Mixed Marriages Act.

In a statement in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday, Chief

Buthelezi said the decision was an important one, psychologically, for whites.

It did not address the major problem of power-sharing but such a change was not a cosmetic one, on the other hand.

White people had been bogged down in the past because they had felt that their wives and daughters were not safe at the hands of African men.

Woman tells

of ANC's

(ICA) ~~11/11~~

**'secret Soweran
house' 19/4/85**

A 25-YEAR-OLD former member of the African National Congress, who may not be identified, this week gave evidence at the trial of Mr Andreas Sejeng (28), in the Bloemfontein Supreme Court.

Mr Sejeng, an alleged ANC member, pleaded not guilty on Monday to seven charges of terrorism, a charge of murder and a charge of attempted murder connected with five bomb explosions in and around Bloemfontein in 1983 and 1984.

The witness testified that she recognised Mr Sejeng as "the man who stayed in a secret house", known by the ANC as the Ordinance House, in Maseru, where she had also been staying. — Sapa.

18/4/85
BOA/1 NM IIA

Inkatha condemnation of township violence

**African Affairs
Correspondent**

ULUNDI—The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, says Inkatha condemns those who burn the houses of black town councillors because of political differences.

He says the movement also regards as 'abhorrent' the behaviour of 'some who call themselves black' who roast councillors alive in their houses.

If town councillors have nothing to offer, history will bypass them, the Chief Minister maintains.

Delivering his policy speech in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday, Chief Buthelezi said it was totally wrong

to use violence against those who were involved in strategies of which Inkatha did not approve.

In the final analysis, democracy demanded that ordinary people should choose their leaders and choose their tactics and strategies.

If town councillors were involving themselves in wrong strategies, they would be left behind, the Inkatha president said.

Chief Buthelezi said he had already made it very clear that he and Inkatha would never take part in black local authority developments as long as they were seen to be props for the new constitution.

He said that, while

apartheid retained the Group Areas Act, any analogy between black local authority elections and white local authority elections would be spurious.

'Blacks are forced to live in black townships by law and the concept of a freely-elected local black town council has a hollow ring about it.'

RDM 19/4/85

'Russians' abduct Azasm leader

11A - By RICH MKHONDO

A GROUP of men yesterday allegedly abducted president of the Azanian Students Movement, Mr Thami Mcerwa, accusing him of having led a mob of youths who looted former Soweto mayor Mr E T Tshabalala's business premises on Wednesday.

Mr Mcerwa told the Rand Daily Mail yesterday that blanket-clad men, calling themselves "The Russians" took him to the sites of the various businesses and interrogated, insulted and intimidated him.

They arrived at his house at about 2am yesterday, claiming to be "police sent by Mr Tshabalala", Mr Mcerwa said.

The fact that Mr Mcerwa was taken to the businesses was confirmed by a mem-

ber of Mr Tshabalala's family. Mr Mcerwa yesterday identified one of his interrogators as an ardent supporter of the Sofasonke Party.

Mr Mcerwa said at one of the business premises he met Mr Tshabalala who instructed the men to release him as "he looked innocent".

Mr Tshabalala declined to comment yesterday.

Mr Mcerwa said he had reported the matter to the police and that he intended seeking legal advice.

After a sports event at Orlando Stadium on Wednesday a group of youths stoned Mr Tshabalala's garage in White City, looted his bottlestore and attempted to set fire to the adjoining restaurant.

(11A)

New tactics FM 19/4/85

The United Democratic Front's new strategy of actively campaigning against apartheid, rather than simply opposing the constitution, was dramatically illustrated in Pietersburg last Saturday.

About 50 members of the UDF Northern Transvaal Area Committee reportedly startled shoppers in the conservative *platteland* town with their peaceful protest. However, police quickly scuttled it by rounding up the protesters. The demonstration was in sympathy for victims of the Uitenhage massacre of March 21 when police shot dead 19 blacks. They were also protesting against the homelands policy, which is held responsible for causing "ethnic strife" in the area recently, and against State President P W Botha's visit to the Zionist church headquarters at Moria the previous week. It was the first time that the *platteland* had witnessed such an event.

The UDF's new tactic was adopted at a specially held policy meeting in Azaadville on the West Rand earlier this month. It was resolved to challenge government in as many areas as possible. Hence the UDF's new rallying slogan: "From mobilisation to organisation, from protest to challenge."

A UDF spokesman, Yunus Mohamed, tells the *FM* that the organisation's leadership now understands the value of "setting attainable policy goals and having firm short-term objectives." Further, the UDF national executive has been trimmed from an unwieldy 39 members to 16, which, should streamline decision making.

UDF policy, in its new "more directed" form, is already beginning to make itself felt. The march on Parliament in Cape Town and the sit-in at Citibank this month are examples of the direction the new non-violent, civil disobedience strategy is likely to take.

More recently the UDF has said that the New Zealand rugby tour, if it takes place, would be considered a prime target for protest. That, no doubt, would bring the UDF into confrontation once more with the au-

(11A)

thorities, and perhaps also certain rugby fans. The police have stated categorically that they will brook no trouble at the sporting fixtures.

Mohamed says the UDF is aware of the difficulties, but plans to protest peacefully and to stay within the bounds of the law. He says the references to violence have been misinterpreted. "It is not the players' blood that we envisage being spilt, but our own. Law enforcement in SA is known for its brutality." ■

NRP wants fourth chamber for blacks

PARLIAMENT. — Urban black leaders elected by "normal democratic process" sitting in a fourth chamber of Parliament to put their case for further constitutional change was the most practical way of solving the problems of black participation in central government, Mr Derrick Watterson (NRP Umbilo) said yesterday.

The Government's proposed forum for such discussion between black leaders and the authorities was impractical because black participants would not necessarily be the people non-homeland blacks would choose to represent them.

Black discontent would continue because the forum would not be part of the legislative authority but would work parallel to it, without any power.

The Conservative Party's policy that there should be no blacks in central gov-

ernment was totally impractical and the Progressive Federal Party's proposal that a national convention be held at which interested parties could negotiate the country's constitutional future with the "true" black leaders would also fail as these leaders were not easily identifiable.

"The NRP's policy is that black leaders be determined by the normal democratic process and should sit in a fourth chamber of this Parliament, in the same way as the other groups and subject to the same authority."

Mr W J Cuyler (NP Roodepoort) said the Government had made quite clear its position that a fourth chamber of Parliament for blacks was unacceptable and that its proposed forum was an opportunity for all reasonable, peaceful and moderate blacks to consult with the Government — Sapa-

Sebe flays ANC, UDF

11A

Sowetan 19/4/85
THE African National Congress and United Democratic Front came under fire in the Ciskei National Assembly yesterday over the outbreaks of violence in South Africa.

Opening the fifth session of the Assembly here, President Lennox Sebe said the Ciskei had been deeply shocked by recent unrest in the Republic.

"Externally, the Western nations seek to impose economic boycotts, and the American Senate is consider-

ing legislation aimed at promoting disinvestment and favours economic sanctions.

"Internally, the UDF and ANC are bent on violence, terrorism and destruction," he said.

President Sebe said the people of Southern Africa looked to the government of the day to take the initiative, put an end to violent confrontation, and bring leaders of all sections of the community to the conference table in times such as these.

If Harry was a black he would strike

ROM 29/4/68
London Bureau

LONDON. — The retired chairman of the Anglo American Corporation, Mr Harry Oppenheimer, said yesterday that if he was a black man in South Africa he would certainly make use of industrial power.

Asked by a BBC radio interviewer whether that meant he would organise strikes, he said: "I'm afraid I would. I quite realise that's not going to make my life as an industrialist any more comfortable."

"That is why the moral I draw is not that black people should organise strikes, but that our government should move quickly to give them a share in the central government of the country."

He said he thought apartheid was "cracking up" and that a system of one man one vote could be seen within the next five years.

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KOM 19/4/85

Drive to save ANC man's life

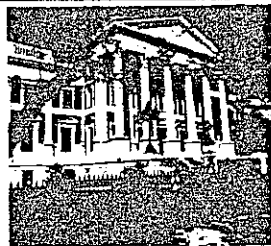
Political Reports

THE Release Mandela Committee (RMC) will this weekend launch a campaign to try and prevent the death sentence being carried out on Benjamin Moloise, a member of the ANC convicted for shooting a policeman.

The campaign will be launched at a public meeting in Diepkloof, Soweto, on Sunday afternoon.

The RMC has called on the State President, Mr P W Botha, to issue a reprieve for Moloise.

Prisoners
'want to
talk' to



President **In brief ...**

ARCUS 17/4/85 (11A) ~~SECRET~~
Parliamentary Staff

POLITICAL prisoners serving life sentences on Robben Island had called on President P W Botha to come to the prison to talk to them, Mr Ranji Nowbath (NPP. nominated) said in the House of Delegates.

Mr Nowbath was one of a group of MPs to visit the island this week and speak to political prisoners.

He said he had spoken to "lifers" who told him he should tell the State President to come and talk to them.

According to Mr Nowbath, the prisoners said: "We want to talk to him but we don't want to talk to him by means of messengers and messages."

Mr Nowbath said he regarded it as a genuine plea.

Demand
RDM 19/4/85
on black
(117)
political
rights

Political Staff

PARLIAMENT. — It was not enough for black and white leaders to deplore violence but a clear declaration of intent was needed regarding black political rights, Mr Mahmoud Rajab (Sol Springfield) said in the House of Delegates yesterday.

He said politics and economics were inseparable.

Blacks felt "taxation without representation is tyranny".

The recent spate of unrest in the Eastern Cape which continued unabatedly damaged the confidence in the economy.

"The need for decisive and foresighted political leadership becomes more urgent by the day," said Mr Rajab.

Yesterday, the second reading of the general budget and the own affairs budget was debated in the House of Delegates.

Mr A G Joosub, (NPP Brickfield), demanded that there be an immediate opening of all trading areas to people of all groups without any restrictions.

Buthlezi has 'guided country like a true leader'

19/4/85 (11A) (11A) (11A)
OVER the past two months of crisis and trauma, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had counselled and guided the country like a true leader, the Leader of the Opposition, Mr J N Reddy, said in the House of Delegates yesterday.

Speaking in the Budget debate, he said Chief Buthelezi had joined the forces of moderation in advising people abroad not to fall victim to the

disinvestment lobby. He had shown the type of leadership that would lead the country to peace.

Mr Reddy appealed to the Government not to reject out of hand the report of the Buthelezi commission into Natal/KwaZulu.

'What is no good today will be good tomorrow,' he said. The Chief Minister of KwaZulu should be accepted as a man committed to peaceful

change.

Turning to the economy, he said South Africans had always earned foreign exchange from gold sales and had forgotten about exporting. It was time to turn people's energies to exporting, which was a special philosophy.

'The time to talk about exports must end. Action must be substituted for words.'

Dr Dhlomo labels disinvestment as 'imperialism'

African Affairs
Correspondent

ULUNDI—The disinvestment lobby is another kind of imperialism which wants to ram foreign solutions down South African throats.

The KwaZulu Minister of Education and Culture, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, who is also secretary-general of the Inkatha movement, made this observation in the Legislative Assembly yesterday when he took part in a debate on the policy speech of the Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Dr Dhlomo said South Africans wished to be left alone to solve their internal problems.

Pressure

He said the lobby which promoted disinvestment had made a number of unwarranted assumptions.

The lobby maintained, for example, that foreign economic pressure would facilitate political change.

Dr Dhlomo said experts agreed, however, that economic pressures did not promote liberal changes. The countries involved became even more reactionary in their outlook.

The minister said he disagreed with the assumption of the disinvestment lobby that it would be very easy to rebuild the South African economy after any disruption which could be caused by disinvestment.

'Economic decline is not like water that can be turned on and off,' Dr Dhlomo said.

He said black trade unions were playing an important role in the normalising of industrial relations in South Africa.

If there were fewer industries as a result of disinvestment, then this would retard the unionisation of black labour in the country.

Dr Dhlomo said a number of wholly South African-owned companies had begun drafting their own codes of conduct as far as employee practises were concerned.

This would never have happened had overseas companies not set an example.

CAPC TINKS 19/4/85

Letter: Buthelezi criticizes Slabbert

OWN Correspondent

ULUNDI — The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, said yesterday that he would rather be told bluntly by Mr Jaap Marais, leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, that he was a "kaffir" than be told by Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, that he was a "kafir" who misunderstood things.

Chief Buthelezi was replying in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly to a news report which stated that Dr Slabbert had said he felt that the KwaZulu Chief Minister had misunderstood the contents of a report compiled by six MPs of the PFP who had visited Uitenhage after the shootings there last month.

The members said local people had reported to them that they felt that "Gatsha's impis" had been used against the residents.

Chief Buthelezi said he knew Dr Slabbert had problems with factions in his party who tried to play political "footsie-



Chief Buthelezi

footsie" with the United Democratic Front.

He said it was better if people "nailed their colours to the mast".

He welcomed the opportunity to receive a letter that Dr Slabbert had promised to write to him. But he hoped the PFP leader did not mean by "clearing up the matter" that he, Chief Buthelezi, could not understand simple, straightforward things.

The Minister of the Interior for KwaZulu, Dr Dennis Madide, said members of the PFP should have consulted with Inkatha leaders before they issued the report.

Mass meeting on health

Soweto Azapo 19/4/85



THE Soweto Woman's Group, an affiliate of the Federation of Transvaal Women, will hold a mass meeting on health on Sunday at the Dube YWCA.

The meeting will start at 1 pm. It will be held jointly with the Health Workers Association. All interested people in Soweto are invited to attend.

"Health standards in Soweto have deteriorated and remain at their lowest for a long time", said Benedicta Monama.

"Hundreds of our children are suffering from kwashiokor and little has been done to look into this problem and its causes."

In other countries, she said. TB is a disease

of the past while in South Africa it is as common as a cold. "Do we ever ask ourselves why?" They have seen very recently how health authorities at the Baragwanath hospital have handled the issue and administration of health.

Azapo

The Azanian People's Organisation (Soweto branch) will hold a health clinic at Mzimhlophe Resettlement Camp on Sunday.

A medical team will be at hand to advise people on health. The clinic, which starts at 8.30 am and will last until 1 pm, will be held at Room 476.



RELATIVES and well-wishers at the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court when 14 men appeared facing charges of treason. The case has been postponed to the Supreme Court.

Drama as treason trial goes to Supreme Court

Sowetan 19/4/85 *11A* *23*

By ALI MPHAKI

THE trial of 14 men appearing on treason charges was referred to the Rand Supreme Court for trial when they appeared in a Johannesburg magistrate court yesterday.

The 14 were not asked to plead and an indictment on the first three accused was submitted.

The three are Mr Jabu Nogobese, Mr Xolani Nduna and Mr Zanemvula Mapela.

There was drama after the magis-

trate had referred the case to the Supreme Court. The accused started singing and were joined by well-wishers, friends and supporters who had crammed the courtroom.

The trial date for the Supreme Court hearing is May 20.

The other accused are: Mr Siphon Ngwenya, Mr Joseph Leepile, Mr Justice Ngidi, Mr Matlare Lesotho, Mr Matthews Kekana, Mr Kingsley Sithole, Mr James Dubazi, Mr Jongumzi Sisulu, Mr Happy Mkhafa, Mr David Matsose and Mr Joseph Maja.

Anglicans to meet over Mzamane

SENIOR officials of the Anglican Church will meet within the next few days to discuss the fate of KwaThema mayor, The Reverend Joe Mzamane, whose mission house was set alight by a mob on Tuesday.

Mr Mzamane's house was set alight by a crowd of about 500, mostly youths, who went on the

rampage following the refusal by pupils at the Laban Motlhabi High School to attend classes after assembly on the same day.

Mr Mzamane is a priest in charge at the St Barnabas

Sowetan 19/4/85

Anglican Church in the township.

Damage estimated at thousands of rands was caused when his house was attacked.

The Right Rev Simeon Nkoane, the Johannesburg Anglican Suffragan

Bishop, yesterday said senior officials of the church will meet within the next few days to discuss Mr Mzamane's involvement in the local authorities and the burning of the church's mission house. He said he

was not sure when the officials will meet but said this will be very soon as the matter was "delicate".

Last year Mr Mzamane was warned by the church to either resign from the council or face a

possibility of being suspended from church activities. Mr Mzamane refused to resign from his seat and since then the church has not taken any action against his refusal to resign from the council.

It is known that the

majority of members of the Anglican Church in South Africa are against government created institutes like the local authorities and also against its members, especially priests, joining such organisation.

BEARES NOW GIVES YOU A SEAL V

Bullets won't stop us - Tutu

(11A) (20)



● DR Allan Boesak — given an ovation at the mass funeral in Uitenhage.

ADDRESSING more than 50 000 mourners at Saturday's funeral of 19 people killed by police at Langa three weeks ago, Bishop Desmond Tutu warned that the march of progress cannot be stopped with bullets.

The Bishop of Johannesburg also accused the Government of being slow thinkers.

Referring to a well publicised remark by a Government member some time ago, that blacks were slow thinkers, Bishop Tutu said 25 years ago at Sharpeville, the Government had tried to halt the fight for freedom with bullets.

"Now at Langa they have again tried — they are slow thinkers."

The well-behaved crowd at the mammoth funeral at Kwanobuhle Stadium, outside Uitenhage, gave a thundering ovation to Bishop Tutu and Dr Allan Boesak, President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, when they arrived to address the crowd.

A heavy police and army contingent guarded the route the mourners took past Uitenhage's white areas — but did not enter Kwanobuhle township.

CAVALCADE

The throng hushed as a cavalcade of hearses, carrying the coffins, entered the stadium.

The coffins were then lined up in front of the stadium grandstand and the first of a long line of speakers, all representatives of township organisations, trade unions and church groups, began to address the mourners.

Dozens of foreign and local journalists,



● THE Rt Rev Bishop Desmond Tutu — "Government slow thinkers."

and photographers jostled to record the moving scenes at the stadium, as did 13 television crews.

Main organiser of the funeral, Fikile Kobese, president of the Motor, Allied and Component Workers' Union, was one of the first speakers.

He said the 19 people were victims of "an enemy which does not know what peace is".

"The blood of these innocent victims will irrigate the field of our struggle," he said.

CAPC Tim 20/6/85 (110) 211A

ANC 'vehicle for revolution in SA'

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

— No political party represented in Parliament could satisfy the demands of the forces of hatred, President P W Botha said yesterday.

Speaking during his vote in the Budget debate, Mr Botha said Marxism/Leninism openly used the African National Congress (ANC) as a vehicle to achieve its determined form of so-called freedom for South Africa.

"The ANC is, according to the South African Communist Party (SACP), the main immediate instrument for the achievement of the aims of the so-called national democratic revolution.

"Whether the Communist Party or the ANC will eventually be the dominating factor does not matter.

"The fact is that they influence one another to overthrow this State and they want to bring about a dictatorship, supported by a so-called people's militia which will replace the present South African Defence

Force and Police Force.

"One has only to study the works of Dr Voslensky to see what these forces dictated to by Moscow really have in mind.

"Through intimidation and dictatorial control the masses are exploited and used to serve the interests of the governing elite."

Mr Botha said that in this connection he was reminded of what Alexander Solzhenitsyn said in 1975, namely that the situation in the world was not just dangerous or threatening, it was catastrophic.

It had to be realized that the tremendous price of hatred was there in the Soviet Union and that it flowed from there, throughout the world.

It was necessary to stand up against it and not try to give it everything it asked for.

"No political party represented in this House can satisfy the demands of these forces of hatred.

"I also state that these forces are not representative of the large majority of South Africans," Mr Botha said. — Sapa

UDF's 'Migrant Worker'

WTE ARGUS 20/4/85 11A

Weekend Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — He couples a powerful political left hook with an unmistakable gap-toothed smile, an uncompromising opposition to apartheid with easy amicability.

He is United Democratic Front publicity secretary Mosiuoa "Terror" Lekota, former amateur boxer and soccer player — and a political veteran at the age of 36.

Mr Lekota was elected to a second term at the recent UDF national conference.

He has become synonymous with the UDF's announced determination that it will involve itself in direct mass action, not merely mobilising opinion against the institutions of race rule, but organising to challenge them.

The UDF has warned that the forthcoming New Zealand rugby tour is likely to be the focus of such action.

Mr Lekota's commitment to the non-racial movement stands in sharp contrast to his earlier political activities. In the 1970s, as a student at the University of the North, he was a leading figure in the Black Consciousness

The United Democratic Front has become the controversial focus of extra-parliamentary opposition to South Africa's National Party Government. Increasingly, Government spokesmen, including President Botha himself, have questioned its methods and intentions. Mosiuoa "Terror" Lekota is the spokesman for the organisation, but few know anything about him except his name. Who is he? What is he like?

Movement, becoming a full-time organiser for the South African Students' Organisation succeeding Abraham Tiro, who went into exile in Botswana.

It was as a Saso man that Mr Lekota was tried for his part in the 1974 pro-Frelimo rallies, in Durban and at Turfloop. He was sentenced in December 1976, with such men as Saths Cooper and Muntu Myeza, to six years on Robben Island.

The marathon trial and the years in prison were central to Mr Lekota's political "conversion" from the racially exclusive Black Consciousness approach to the non-racial movement, he says.

Mr Lekota was released from Robben Island in 1982 and by August 1983 — when the UDF was launched in Cape Town — had established himself firmly enough in the movement to win the key position of publicity secretary.

On the eve of the August elections, he was arrested and spent three months in Diepkloof Prison near Johannesburg under section 28 of the Internal Security Act — the preventive detention clause.

His jailing, his itinerant life as a national political figure and his recent detention have left little place for family life. But Mr Lekota — born in Kroonstad in the Free State — calls Durban his home. That is where his wife and two children live.

But he is more likely to be found using the Johannesburg headquarters of UDF as base camp. He jokes about his life as a "migrant worker" but adds the sober reminder that there are many migrants who have it rougher than he.



Mr Terror Lekota at a UDF protest meeting.

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20/4/85

11A

Schools' boycott

Education Reporter.

COLOURED high school pupils staged a one-day class boycott in the Peninsula yesterday in sympathy with pupils in the Eastern Cape and in a gesture of protest at Uitenhage shootings.

While pupils claimed the short boycott was widespread, a spokesman for the Department of Education and Culture said attendance at most high schools was normal. He confirmed, however, that no pupils attended the Bonteheuwel or Oaklands Senior Secondary Schools.

At the Elswood Senior Secondary School in Elsie's River attendance was about 50 percent.

It is understood that pupils decided to hold the one-day boycott in response to evidence that has been placed before the Kannemeyer Commission of Inquiry into the Uitenhage shootings.

UDF 'an extension of SACP and ANC'

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — It had become clear the United Democratic Front not only acted in its own right, but had become an internal extension of the African National Congress and the SA Communist Party, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said yesterday.

Giving an assessment of the current threats to South Africa during his speech in the Assembly, he said: "The process of politicization and mobilization, in which especially the UDF has an important role and which takes place in a still-deteriorating economic situation, has attained such proportions that the potential for extensive countrywide violent disturbances, has increased markedly."

Hard realities

Other "threats" Mr Botha dealt with were the disinvestment campaign, the incessant condemnation by African states of South Africa's internal policies, and instability in Southern Africa creating opportunities for superpower involvement.

"It is fervently to be hoped that all reasonable people, inside and outside South Africa, should take note of the hard realities of our country and judge our actions in those terms," he said.

"Any assessment of the security threat against the Republic is at present dominated by a drastic escalation of the revolutionary climate in the country."

While it was accepted that real grievances existed which created unrest among black people, the aim of the UDF and most of its substructures was not peaceful socio-economic and political change.

"Their end goal is the destruction of our system of government and civilized values," Mr Botha said.

Although the UDF professed its opposition to violence, the results of its action indicated the contrary, as was clearly evident from the murder, arson and intimidation in the Eastern Cape and elsewhere.

The organization's immediate aim was to mobilize the masses and incite them towards confrontation with the authorities.

"They hope in this way to create a spiral of increasing violence which will culminate in revolution."

Regarding the ANC's instructions to the UDF to make the country ungovernable, the President quoted a recent Dutch publication's interview with an ANC representative, Mr Godfrey Motsepe, who had said: "Fantastic work has been done by the ANC cadres in the country, including those operating legally within mass organizations. We have said to them 'Make South Africa ungovernable', and the country becomes ungovernable."

"This is rather far-fetched propaganda," Mr Botha said.

The extent to which UDF supporters had executed ANC instructions ap-

peared in a statement made by Mr Thami Mali, chairman of the committee which organized the massive worker stayaway in November last year.

After the stayaway, he had said their purpose was to make South Africa ungovernable, and to force the government to declare so-called "liberated zones".

"Furthermore, leading ecclesiastics such as Dr Beyers Naude in effect propagate conflict with the authorities when he pleads for a 'campaign of responsible civil disobedience' because, as he puts it, 'the Church has no choice but to organize meaningful resistance'," Mr Botha said.

Neither Dr Naude or any other church leader could, however, guarantee their calls for and planning of "responsible disobedience" would not lead to violence and loss of life.

"It has become particularly clear that the UDF not only acts in its own right, but has become an internal extension of the ANC and of the SA Communist Party."

In his interview, Mr Motsepe had said: "There are innumerable ANC people active in legitimate organizations (meaning the UDF) but who, for understandable reasons, cannot stand up and say: 'I am a member of the ANC'. This would amount to signing your own death warrant."

Mr Botha said there were strong indications the SACP had strengthened its grip on the ANC to such an extent little doubt remained as to who really set the pace in the organization.

ANC policy

The refusal by Nelson Mandela to renounce violence and the insistence by the ANC/SACP/UDF "conglomerate" on the convening of a national convention clearly illustrated they remained intent on the acquisition of power by any available means.

Various ANC leaders had recently, as a result of his (Mr Botha) conditions for dialogue and negotiations, emphasized that dialogue had, since its creation, been part of the ANC's policy.

They had also, however, emphasized the time for dialogue was not yet ripe because the ANC would have to negotiate from a position of weakness.

"It is quite clear that it is expected of the government to abdicate before it will be granted the highly dubious privilege of participating in such a convention," Mr Botha said.

By making use, in particular, of susceptible youth as a trigger for radicalization, attempts were also made to incite parents', community and workers' organizations to action and to confront the State.

"This state of affairs cannot be accepted. I know I have the majority of South Africans supporting me if I say the government will not abdicate to these forces," the President said. — Sapa

R500 000
gift for
ANC
theatre

11A

D. Raphael
20/11/85

LONDON — The Greater London Council is to donate nearly R500 000 to the African National Congress for theatre productions this year.

This was disclosed as a result of an expensive series of advertisements taken out by the GLC in the British press as part of its campaign to mobilise opposition to abolition of the GLC and other Labour-controlled councils.

In the advertisement the GLC published a list of more than 100 organisations which are recipients of GLC funds.

An organisation known as Black Productions of the African National Congress, under the directorship of South African-born actor Lionel Ngakane, is one of the largest recipients of GLC funds, with a donation for 1984-85 of R480 000.

The GLC, constantly under fire from the Tory Government and sections of the British media for its extravagant ways, has been derided in Fleet Street over its claims that established organisations like the National Council for Civil Liberties, Save the Children Fund and Family Planning Association would disappear because of the withdrawal of GLC funds.

Other organisations which receive GLC grants include the Gay Men's Press and the Lesbian Feminist Writers' Conference Planning Group. — DDC.

The ugly mood in U

20/4/85 (140)

—by—
Jon Qwelane

Almost everybody took it for granted that the mass burials last weekend of victims of the police shootings on "Bloody Thursday" would be the beginning of the end of tensions in the townships of Langa and kwaNobuhle in Uitenhage.

The funerals ushered in a new phase instead. The wave of rioting, burning and looting has now spread to the coloured townships of Rosedale and Blikkiesdorp where vehicles have been attacked throughout the week.

To say the mood of the people is frightening is no exaggeration.

Where it would have been expected that weeks of strife would by now have sapped the community's resolve, the opposite seems to be happening.

An immediate underlying cause is the high rate of unemployment.

The continuing army and police presence in the townships is another reason for the ugly mood. Even though the people may not all be literate enough to secure jobs that pay well, black communities in the Eastern Cape are highly politicised and readily associate any state institutions with their hapless lot.

The daily sessions of the Kanne-meyer Commission of Inquiry into the shootings of March 21 are closely followed and each day's

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Race war spectre

—by—
David Braun,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The spiral of violence in the Eastern Cape took an ugly and ominous twist this week when a mob of blacks attacked a young white civilian, doused him with petrol and set him alight.

The incident followed previous attacks on white motorists and came in the same week that a patrol of the SA Defence Force, repulsing an attack by a stone-throwing crowd, fired and fatally wounded a 22-year-old black.

Events such as these raise fears that the near-anarchy in the region's riot-torn black townships may ignite a local race war.

If black unrest manifests a pattern of indiscriminate attacks on white life and property, the inevitable result will be a sharp backlash from whites.

A consequence must be sharp polarisation between black and white with the moderates in both camps being made irrelevant.

The immediate impact of this week's violence will

almost certainly be reflected in parliamentary and provincial by-elections held in 11 days.

Most observers now believe that the Progressive Federal Party's seat have been blown away because the National Party's seat in the Eastern Cape is nervous.

When the election campaign months ago it seemed that the PFP spect of winning the seat from the the grounds of the Government's of the depressed economy.

Now its prospects evaporate with violence and jittery voters turn to the National Party which is successful image of being the best party to rule.

The longer-term repercussions of violence in the Eastern Cape are feared.

In the words of Opposition leader Bertie Dicks: "It is intolerable that we carry on in our cities in which we are reducing society to a state in which we can tolerate that."

The Government is of the same mind. Botha has consistently said that



Opposition leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert... 'A situation in which the mob rules is intolerable.'

Uitenhage townships persists

ce is thoroughly analysed by of the people one meets. residents of the townships t quite clear that they want er deal for their townships, walk around the locations that they at least have a

ga, where the shootings that the world took place, is the f place for which the word must have been coined. terally reeks with the stench y water, a lot of it stagnant. es here have no running , and there are no drains. ents draw their fresh water r from communal taps in the s and in the backyards of s. h yard has a narrow furrow

into which dirty water — from that used to wash people to dishes and linen — is thrown. The furrows have to be unclogged at least once a week and the muddy slime carted in barrows to dumps not far off.

The bucket system is the only toilet system.

Nightsoil removal is sometimes done in daylight as happened at least three times in the past fortnight when plastic buckets piled with waste lined the streets and were collected well after breakfast.

There is no street lighting worth mentioning in Langa, and the streets themselves are gravel paths. Maduna Road, where the shootings took place, is the only

tarred road in the township.

Almost every house in Langa has a number of backyard shacks, and a great part of the township is nothing but corrugated iron and wood dwellings. One foreign newsman asked as he stood at the entrance of the township: "Oh, hell! What sort of people live here?"

The ugly mood reared its head remarkably this week when members of trade unions under the banner of the Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu) met in the Jubilee Park Hall to pick up the pieces in the aftermath of the shootings.

Workers angrily blamed certain organisations in the community while not losing sight of who had fired the fatal shots. One got the

impression that the three meetings scheduled by Fosatu, at which the organisations concerned will be asked to explain their stand to the community, will be very heated.

The first gathering is due to take place tomorrow in kwaNobuhle and a week later another in Langa and the last in the coloured township of Rosedale. The workers made it clear that they were sick and tired of being dictated to by political organisations.

Whatever the outcome of the planned meetings and however the rioting gets resolved in the end, the foreign newsman is best answered by saying people are living there — no matter what sort they are.

haunts the Eastern Cape

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e same mind and President id that nothing would stop

him from maintaining law and order.

To this end, the Defence Force was called in to help the hard-pressed police with their duties. Officially, the soldiers are supposed only to support the police by taking over the burden of non-confrontationist duties, such as manning road blocks.

This week's incident showed the danger of this when an SADF patrol was caught in a situation in which they had to shoot to save their lives.

The effect of this will be to turn much of the black community against the SADF.

Yet the Government has no choice but to use the forces at its disposal if it is to restore law and order in the townships.

The spiral winds ever higher.

The argument in favour of the use of the SADF in such a role is that, if the police have insufficient manpower to restore order to the townships, then the Defence Force must be used in what is, after all, one of the roles defined for it in the Defence Act.

The case against the use of soldiers is that it politicises the SADF and signals that the country is in a state of virtual civil war.

Dr Slabbert said in Parliament yesterday that the

result of a situation in which violence, either to change or maintain the status quo, becomes the only means of political activity is a totally polarised society. Such a society begins to destroy the resources that it needs to build and develop.

Dr Slabbert said that, in the view of a leading Sovietologist, the recipe for a revolutionary society had two ingredients.

The first was polarisation between those who were governed and those who govern. The second was a loss of intellectual conviction on the part of those who govern — governors who do not know where they are going and do not know what their plan is.

The problem for the South African Government is that, although it may know what its plan is and where it is going, in getting there it may have to sacrifice more to the polarisation of society.

The Government may have to tighten its control of the situation in the Eastern Cape by implementing Draconian methods — and the possibility of a curfew or even martial law cannot be excluded.

That will prevent innocent bloodshed and may buy some time. But the Government will need to move fast to implement its plan and reconcile society.

Blacks say no to PW forum

E. Post (11A)
20/4/85

JOHANNESBURG — Several black political organisations and spokesmen have rejected the call by the State President, Mr P W Botha, for leaders of political parties to join the Cabinet committee on black affairs in forming the nucleus of a negotiating forum with black leaders.

The United Democratic Front and the Azanian Peoples Organisation both rejected the prospect of talks with the all-party committee, as did Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten.

An Azapo spokesman said in Johannesburg that Mr Botha's promise yesterday of freehold rights to "urban blacks" and assertion that loss of South African citizenship did not follow the granting of homeland independence "confirms Azapo's assessment that the Government is frantically trying to create a middle class among the oppressed people".

"We have stated that the Botha-Malan junta will attempt to make the tri-racist shamocracy respectable before resorting to the new shamocracy via the national convention," the spokesman said.

The president of the Azanian Students' Organisation, Mr Simpiwe Mgodusa, said Mr Botha was pretending he did not know who the black leaders were.

"The community has its leaders, such as Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tambo and many others," Mr Mgodusa said. "These are the people the Government should be trying to talk to."

Dr Farouk Meer, a UDF Natal executive member, said: "While on one hand Mr Botha talks of his preparedness to talk to those leaders who reject violence, on the other hand he is holding 16 UDF leaders who have never espoused violence on a charge of treason."

Dr Motlana said blacks were not "about to be seduced" into participating in a national forum.

"I can only express my surprise that after two years or more the State President should still be inviting people to join with him in looking for a possible solution for representation or participation at the 'highest level', as he puts it, of government.

"One would have thought that by now the Cabinet would have a very clear idea of what the solution should be.

"We blacks have said many times that the idea of a national forum — in other words, a talk shop — is just not on.

"All South Africans know that what is urgently required is to rewrite our constitution to provide for representation for all without regard to race, creed or colour," he said.

The Transvaal Indian Congress rejected the offer "with contempt". In a statement, it described the offer as meaningless.

It said Mr Botha could not be sincere while "embarking on a policy of oppression, arresting our activists and jailing our leaders".

"Mr Botha has not even begun creating the necessary conditions for such talks, such as the unbanning of banned organisations, the release of political prisoners and detainees, the return of exiles and a serious dismantling of apartheid." — Sapa

UDF 'an
NM 20/4/85
internal
IIA (3/1/85)
extension

of ANC'

IT HAD become clear the United Democratic Front not only acted in its own right, but had become an internal extension of the African National Congress and the S A Communist Party, Mr Botha said.

Giving an assessment of the current threats to South Africa, he said: 'The process of politicisation and mobilisation, in which especially the UDF has an important role and which takes place in a still deteriorating economic situation, has attained such proportions that the potential for extensive countrywide violent disturbances, has increased markedly.'

'Any assessment of the security threat against the Republic is at present dominated by a drastic escalation of the revolutionary climate in the country.'

The aim of the UDF and most of its substructures was not peaceful socio-economic and political change, he said.

Intimidation

'Their end goal is the destruction of our system of government and civilised values.'

Although the UDF professed its opposition to violence, the results of its action indicated the contrary, as was clearly evident from the murder, arson and intimidation in the Eastern Cape and elsewhere.

The organisation's immediate aim was to mobilise the masses and incite them towards confrontation with the authorities, he said.

He added: 'It has become particularly clear that the UDF not only acts in its own right, but has become an internal extension of the ANC and of the S A Communist Party.'

(Sapa)



● AT the launching of *Coloured Viewpoint*, Professor Richard van der Ross is flanked by his daughter Mrs F Brock, Professor JL Hattingh, Professor Erika Theron and Mr D van der Ross, his father.

The Herald - 20/4/85

Little has changed in twenty-five years

(11A)

EVEN in 1960, those who claimed to have a finger on the political pulse of this country were speaking about a "new deal". And although it could be said that in the late 1950s and early 1960s people were less politically sophisticated and, consequently, their demands less strident — even allowing for events like Sharpeville and organisations like the ANC — talks of a new dispensation were regarded with as much suspicion as they are now.

EDUCATION

Herald 20/4/85

school children a better chance

Professor Richard van der Ross, rector of the University of the Western Cape, is no sword-wielding firebrand of the impatient, voteless masses. Indeed, many people regard him as being too pally with those seen to be working the system.

Yet a quarter of a century ago, this same man was issuing a grave warning to "coloured" people about

By
**DOUGIE
OAKES**

citizenship in order that some favoured few, whether in the Cape or the Transvaal, may obtain liquor licences."

man was issuing a grave warning to "coloured" people about allowing themselves to be used in such a way to show that apartheid was not as black as it is painted.

Warning

His warning appeared in his column called Coloured Viewpoint in the Cape Times of June 14, 1960.

This week a collection of these widely read articles — which appeared from 1958 to 1965 — was published in book form under the same title.

For one who finds the professor's present political statements far too mild, I must admit that I found the book fascinating even though the single-minded pre-occupation with race during that period sickened me. But that, of course, is not his fault — he was simply writing in the language of the time.

Coloured Viewpoint provides a valuable insight into many of the present-day political problems. For, there can be no doubt that the seeds of many of the things that have since come to pass were sown in those days of granite-like apartheid.

To come back to the question of a "new deal" — Professor van der Ross wrote in 1960: "... we see the coloured people have become a vital factor. We have become the shop-window of South African politics. The outside world has to be convinced somehow of the goodwill of South Africa, and of the fact that apartheid as a policy is not as black as it is painted. How to do this? The obvious means is by way of the coloured people. We immediately become the means whereby the entire policy can be whitewashed. How? By making certain concessions to us.

"... slowly we are hearing of trade concessions and of political concessions. Let it be said quite definitely and quite roundly: We will not barter our full

may obtain liquor licences."

On October 2, 1958, Professor van der Ross turned his attention to growth of a coloured middle-class.

He wrote: "There has been a great deal of talk recently, and especially in the past week, of closer co-operation between Europeans and coloured people.

And in an almost prophetic statement later in the story, he wrote: "The coloured people have accepted the Africans as fellow-South Africans, and that attempts to drive wedges between coloured and African will meet with scant success. The cry "we are like Europeans" is rapidly being replaced by: "We are all human beings."

Well, almost 30 years later, closer co-operation of sorts has been forged between a group of coloureds and the Afrikaner leaders of this country — in the tricameral system of parliament.

Ploy

And many are convinced that this new deal is nothing more than a ploy to drive a wedge between coloureds and Africans. And yes, its architects, at this stage, can hardly boast that it has been a rip-roaring success.

In other articles Professor van der Ross touches on the Unity Movement, the split in the Teachers League of SA and the formation of the Teachers' Educational and Professional Association, a forerunner, I believe to Franklin Sonn's Cape Professional Teachers' Association, the colour bar in sport and the strife over apartheid in the Dutch Reformed Churches.

● Coloured Viewpoint was compiled by Professor JL Hattingh and Mr HC Bredenkamp for the Western Cape Institute for Historical Research.

Plans to give blacks a say, fairness, justice, stability and freehold

Leaders invited to negotiate for blacks

NM 20/4/85

~~Botha~~

~~Botha~~

(11A)

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.—President Botha has invited leaders of other political parties to join the special Cabinet committee on black constitutional affairs to form the nucleus of a negotiating forum with black leaders.

'I am not pleading for coalitions or fusion,' he said during the debate on his budget vote.

'I am pleading for a national team effort of this House to find solutions to our most burning question along the way, indicated by me.'

Mr Botha referred to his speech at the opening of Parliament in January and said he had emphasised that the Government was in earnest in seeking, along with other communities, peaceful and democratic solutions which would meet the demands of fairness and justice.

He had also emphasised that it was the Government's constitutional goal to maintain the security and stability of every population group and to give everyone a voice in the decision-making processes affecting their interests.

'It remains the Government's view that with the di-

iversity of our population it is neither desirable nor practical to accommodate all our communities in the same manner.

'Structures will, of necessity, differ without necessarily creating less effective or inferior structures.'

Mr Botha said he had also emphasised that there was an interdependence which had to be accepted on the basis of co-operative neighbourliness (saamwerkende-naasbestaan).

The State President said the constitution gave him particular responsibility towards the black communities and he could announce that the Government had decided that:

Full freehold rights be extended to urban blacks.

Black authorities above local level be established with 'much more power' and contact points on matters of common interest.

The loss of South African citizenship was not the necessary consequence of independence of former homelands.

The HSRC be requested to investigate relations at contact level between government departments and the black population.

Mr Botha said that the envisaged black government structures would have to flow from negotiation with the black communities which had permanence outside the national states.

The question of individual freehold rights had also been taken up with the national states which had no objection to the concept in principle.

Self-determination

Any future dispensation would have to recognise that South Africa was a country of minorities and that these were entitled to protection of their rights.

That meant self-determination over such issues as culture, community life and education.

A unitary state was unacceptable and would lead to conflict and a serious threat to minority rights.

Mr Botha said he had no hesitation in saying he was in favour of the creation of a responsible middle class of black which would be prepared to protect its possessions.

There was an urbanisation process in South Africa and because of water and land shortage this process had to be deflected from the metropolitan areas by a policy of decentralisation of industries linked with an upgrading of agriculture in the black national states where 50 percent of the best farmland of South Africa was located.

'In this respect I want to address our black people directly,' Mr Botha said.

'If this agricultural land is properly developed we can feed an additional 25 000 000 and create work for millions more without the disruptive effects of urbanisation to the metropolises.'

Returning to the issue of relations between the population groups, Mr Botha said this was such an important issue that he was not prepared to leave a single stone unturned.

Involved

As a result he had given certain instructions to Government bodies and institutions dealing with matters affecting blacks.

Apart from the high priority given the Human Sciences Research Council report, government bodies had to ensure again that black communities were involved in all socio-economic decisions affecting them.

A recent in-depth study into citizenship negotiations had brought more clarity.

'For most blacks this is an important issue,' Mr Botha said.

'The Government does not regard the loss of citizenship as a necessary consequence of the independence of a national (black) state.'

More autonomy for the national states was essential.

'Should what I have said here have the support of the leaders of other political parties, I wish to invite them that we may have the Special Cabinet Committee (on black constitutional development) Act in such a manner as the nucleus of a negotiating forum so as to include them (the leaders) to negotiate on a non-party basis with those black leaders who reject violence as a political solution.

'That is my offer. It is for you to accept or reject it.' — (Sapa)

APC Times 20/1/85

'Make up your mind, Mr Botha'

Staff Reporter

ONLY the unconditional dismantling of apartheid can bring about peace in South Africa, the national publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front, Mr Terror Lekota, said in a statement yesterday.

"Mr Botha and his NP colleagues must make up their minds whether they will seek a peaceful solution to South Africa's problems or not."

In the past, the UDF had stated that it had no formal or informal links with the ANC, other than the historical fact that both organizations were of South African origin and were opposed to apartheid, he said.

"We reiterate this.

"It is irrelevant whether the UDF and the ANC



called for a national convention. What matters is whether that suggestion can bring about a democratic and non-racial constitution for this country in a reasonably peaceful fashion, or whether Mr Botha will allow his army and police to continue to shoot and kill black children for the preservation of apartheid.

"Mr Botha has conceded that 'real grievances existed which created unrest among black people'. The UDF has asserted that his new dispensation fails to solve those problems.

"It is a lie that the UDF is intent on precipitating revolution. We are determined to see real change rather than such massacres as at Uitenhage."

Nor could the UDF be blamed for the deteriorating economic situation, he said.

Hambanathi war blows up again

By PHINDA KUZWAYO

THE uncertain peace between Inkatha members and UDF supporters in Hambanathi suffered a setback this week when new violence broke out between the two groups.

Inkatha Youth Brigade member France Mncube was grazed by a bullet from an unknown gunman when Inkatha members marched

through the township last Monday, demonstrating against a rival organisation, a police spokesman said.

And Hambanathi Residents' Association members told reporters that several houses of their supporters were stoned by the Inkatha group.

The HRA is a wing of the Joint Rent Action Committee, a UDF affiliate.

KwaZulu Chief Minister Gatsha Buthelezi said he was "extremely distressed" to hear of Mr Mncube's near-fatal shooting and appealed for calm in the area.

He said he feared the incident could spark off another spate of violence in Hambanathi, which was plagued with trouble last year.

KwaZulu Education and Culture Minister Oscar Dhlo-mo had recently been sent to the area to mediate between opposing groups, he said.

HRA members said the trouble which led to the new violence began over a party which UDF supporter David Tyaliti held last Saturday for his daughter. Inkatha supporters thought it was intended to be a UDF meeting in disguise.

Two Hambanathi community councillors, both known Inkatha supporters, are said to have told Mr Tyaliti not to hold the party because they feared violence would break out. But he went ahead.

On Sunday the Inkatha group made their first march and allegedly stoned Bertrice Makhetha's house. On Monday the group marched again — the houses of a Mr Mbokazi and Mumsy Mkhize at Number 7a, both UDF supporters, were allegedly stoned.

The bitter opposition between supporters of Inkatha and the UDF dates back to 1983, when the incorporation of several Durban townships into the KwaZulu homeland was proposed.

UDF affiliates have resisted the move, while Inkatha supporters are in favour of the idea.

High-level meetings were held between the two groups after prolonged violence last year and peace was maintained — until this week.

Police are investigating the shooting. No arrests have been made.

11A

C. P. 24

21/4/85

PAC pulls out of Lesotho

11A *21/4/85* *C. Press*

ALL 23 Pan-Africanist Congress members living in Lesotho will be evacuated to Dar-es-Salaam, says the organisation's education secretary, Elliot Mfaha, who is currently in charge of the Lesotho-PAC operations.

CP Correspondent

The decision to evacuate them follows an attack on PAC members by unknown assailants last week. The cadres identified the attackers only as "men wearing brown overalls".

Lesotho Paramilitary Forces in an area which the Government described as "sensitive" because it is used by the Lesotho Liberation Army.

On March 13 a PAC member's car was attacked at his home shortly after he had taken Tamsanqa Zani's widow home.

Mr Zani was killed in last month's shootings.

On the same night, African National Congress representative John Ndlovu's house was also attacked.

In a commentary, Radio Lesotho accused the PAC of training Lesotho Liberation Army members.



Khayalitsha, the barren place — home?

Khayalitsha may turn sour

21/4

"SQUATTER" families have started settling into their new "tent

By MOIRA LEVY

monitoring the move this week said they

between 1 20 000 "sq refuse to dormitory

SHOWBIZ SHORTS



UDF is back with beat

(11A) Pelen
21/4/87



THE UNITED Democratic Front's annual charity concert kicks off at Fun Valley on April 28. Sunday's concert will be a fundraising event for the UDF treason trialists as well as the first step towards starting a cultural wing for the organisation.

Among the day's line-up is Jessica Sherman — the lady who has gone on to carve a niche for herself as one of the most sought-after female solo performers in the country. Also on the bill is Spho Gumede and Khaya Mahangu — both ex-leaders and founders of the now-defunct Sakhile, who have recently re-merged to work as a duet with session musicians.

Other artists appearing are Harari's Spho Mabuse, Jazz Pioneers, Thandi Klaasen, Nudred, D-Fusion, Brenda Fasi and the Big Dudes — who will be back from a sizzling one-week tour of Zimbabwe — and Supafrika.

This will be the second UDF open-air concert, featuring some of the finest groups in the country.

The first, at the same venue last year, drew more than 150 000 ardent

music fundis, who jammed the resort for 10 solid hours of high-class music — such as the beat drummed up by Sakhile's Mabi Thobejane (see pic).

"There's a move to form a cultural wing of the UDF," said festival organiser Krish Naidoo. "Part of the purpose of this get-together is to try and establish such links with our artists."

Bookings for the festival opened last week at Computicket and tickets are selling for R6 each for the eight-hour music happening. It starts at 10am.

April 23: 11am Tricks; 3pm Tricks; 5.45pm Dirty Weekend;

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Cradora won't talk to De Beer

By MONO BADELA



THE CRADOCK Residents Association won't talk to Deputy Co-operation and Development Minister Sam de Beer when he visits the township next week.

But, they say, it's his own fault — for not talking to them last year, at the height of the school boycott in Lingelihle.

"He ignored us — so we'll ignore him," Cradora representative Vulindlela Phuwani told City Press.

"Mr De Beer cannot now pretend to know the demands

of Lingelihle people. Meeting him now would serve no purpose.

"We fail to see why he wants to meet us after repeatedly labelling Cradora as a violent organisation," said Mr Vulindlela.

As the war of words continued, 4 500 Lingelihle students returned to the classes on Monday after boycotting classes for 15 months.

Attendance at Lingelihle's seven schools has climbed to 72 percent, said Education and Training Department spokesper-

son Job Schoeman.

Mr Schoeman said this percentage was probably not an accurate reflection because it was based on January 1984 enrolment figures, and a number of parents have subsequently sent their children to school outside Cradock.

The return to classes did not go off without a hitch.

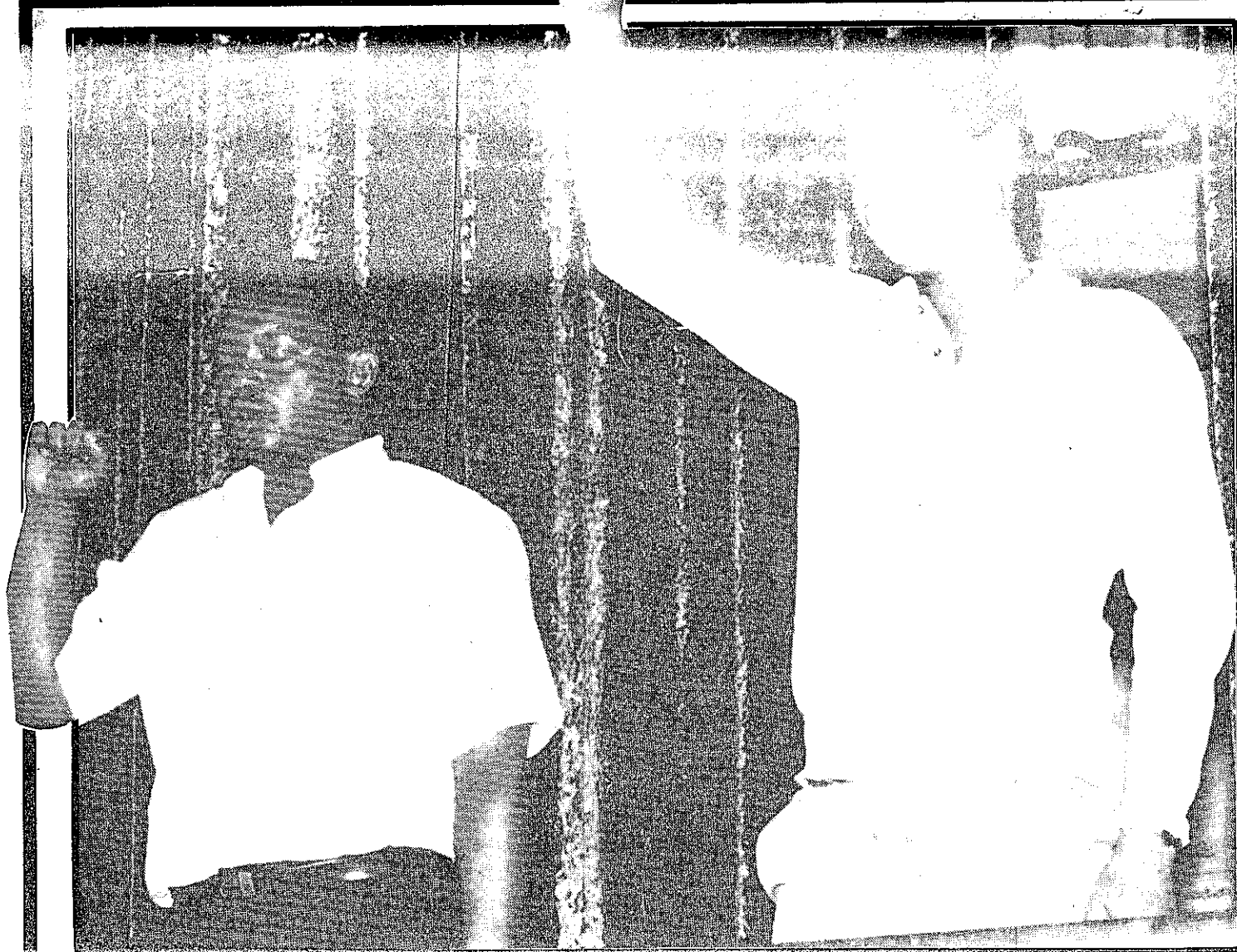
Township residents looted and set alight bottle store and clashed with cops in two Casspirs and a truck on Monday.

Cops fired teargas and rubber bullets to disperse the crowd.

Back in school, but still fighting for SRCs at Cradock
Pic: THEMBA NKOSI

Azapo and the UDF:

Fighting the same



'The New Zealand team will not be playing the people — they will be playing the elite ...'

TWO men stand on a stage singing the national anthem, their fists raised in unison.

It's a common sight in South Africa these days as political organisations throughout the land voice their protest against apartheid.

But this picture tells a different story. It tells of a historical occasion . . . the day the United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organisation joined fists to fight a common enemy: a rugby team.

On the left, UDF publicity secretary Terror Lekota, totally committed to opposing the tour of South Africa by New Zealand's rugby team.

On the right, Azapo's George Wauchope, totally committed to opposing the tour of South Africa by New Zealand's rugby team.

That rugby tour — which will take place later this year — has done what years of negotiation and talks have failed to do: united the opposition.

But that's because it represents more than just 15 men chasing an egg-shaped ball.

Natal Council of Sport chairman Krish Mackerdujh told the joint rally in Durban on Sunday: "Rugby is virtually a religion to the Afrikaner. That is why the tour is such an emotive issue."

Lekota added his voice: "They will not be playing rugby with the people, but with a small, privileged elite.

"And if they ignore our protests and come, they cannot expect to be welcomed by us — and we will take steps to let them know that."

SA Council of Sport vice-president Joe Ebrahim warned that the

tourists would be "nothing better than jailers in rugby kit" — and Azapo's Wauchope sketched just how hard his organisation had tried to dissuade the New Zealand Rugby Union from coming.

Delegates at the meeting then drew up a resolution — passed unanimously — saying that the tourists would be regarded as being "in complicity with the crime of apartheid, and showing a total disregard for the killing of black people in South Africa's townships.

The meeting didn't end with resolutions, however — a follow-up meeting will be held soon to formulate protest plans.

The SA Council of Churches is backing the protestors, and has sent a message to its New Zealand counterpart asking it to put pressure on the NZRU.

"We have asked the New Zealand Council of Churches to express our strong conviction that the tour should not take place," the SACC said.

100 Muslims walk out on Du Plessis

Mercury Reporter

ABOUT 100 supporters of the Muslim Youth Movement (MYM) walked out of a silver jubilee celebration of the Orient Islamic Educational Institute in Durban's Orient Hall on Saturday at which Finance Minister Barend du Plessis was guest of honour — leaving behind several hundred startled guests.

Earlier, the minister's personal aides and Security policemen thwarted an attempt by two MYM demonstrators to unfold a large banner in front of the stage where the main guests were seated.

The group, which also included members of the Natal Indian Congress, chanted Islamic slogans as they left the hall.

The demonstration, which began as the minister was about to address the gathering, was in protest against a decision by the institute banning po-

litical bodies from using the hall for meetings. The MYM objected to the choice of a politician being guest of honour at the celebrations.

A garlanded Mr du Plessis, who appeared to be unmoved by the demonstration, praised the 'foresight and perseverance shown by the Muslim community in the establishment of the Orient Islamic Educational Centre 25 years ago'.

'The initiative behind this impressive complex is greatly to be applauded and held up as an example to others.

Mr Ebrahim Abramjee, Minister of the Budget in the House of Delegates, recently presented his first budget, in which he proposed some R308 million for education and culture.

'R55 million was allocated for capital expenditure in the education field,' he said.

UDF gets ready for Botha bannings

NA

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter
S. Times
3/12/85

THE United Democratic Front is steeling itself for the possibility of an imminent crackdown on its members.

This follows a forceful statement by the President, Mr P W Botha, in Parliament on Friday accusing the UDF of being linked to the South African Communist Party and the African National Congress, both banned.

If the Government decides on action against the UDF, it can, in terms of the Internal Security Act, announce the appointment of an advisory committee, headed by a judge of the Supreme Court, to investigate the UDF.

Such a committee may then take evidence, and the UDF in turn can then make representations to it. Mr Trevor Manuel, secretary of the UDF in the Western Cape, said yesterday his organisation was bracing itself for possible repressive Government action.

"We expect a possible banning of individuals who are leaders of the more than 600 organisations affiliated to the UDF."

Detentions

"But it is perhaps more likely that the Government would resort to detentions of UDF members."

"Banning the UDF, or detaining its leaders, would do nothing to alleviate the present crisis the country is facing."

Also linking the UDF with the ANC and the SACP is merely trying to divert attention from the real causes of the present turmoil in the country," added Mr Manuel. Mrs Helen Susman, MP for Houghton, said yesterday she saw Mr Botha's statement as "a clear warning to the UDF with strong undertones of intimidation."

Mr Botha told the House of Assembly on Friday it had become clear the UDF not only acted in its own right but had become an internal extension of the ANC and the SACP.

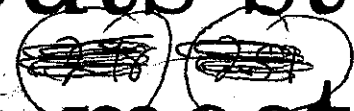
He said that while "it is accepted that real grievances exist which create unrest among black people, the aim of the UDF and most of its sub-structures is not peaceful socio-economic and political change."

In an official response to Mr Botha's remarks, issued by the national publicity secretary of the UDF, Mr Patrick Lekota, the organisation said it had in the past stated it had no formal or informal links with the ANC.

Violence puts stop to Inkatha meeting

NM 22/4/85

11A



Mercury Correspondent

A BEERHALL and two shops were stoned and looted, streets barricaded with burning tyres and crates, and police with a number of dogs assisted by soldiers of the South African Defence Force conducted a house to house search in the East Rand township of Duduza yesterday.

Police also shot tear-gas canisters, and a sneeze-machine sprayed clouds of tear-gas to disperse crowds.

The wave of violence erupted as a result of op-

position by residents to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Youth Brigade meeting which was to be held at the Duduza New Community Hall yesterday.

Hundreds of Inkatha members, wielding kieres, sjamboks and sticks arrived at the township and marched to the local community hall escorted by three police Casspirs.

However, a crowd of residents attacked a column of Inkatha marchers with bricks and stones. The Inkatha members scattered in different directions but later appeared to regroup.

They continued to march to the hall where another group of residents was assembled.

Violence broke out again when the local residents spilled pots of meat that were to have been eaten by Inkatha members after the meeting.

The meeting did not even start, as a number of local youths stoned the Inkatha members.

After a house in the area was attacked a number of youths barricaded the streets with burning tyres and attacked a beerhall at Lekope street. A number of crates of beer were looted.

A spokesman for the

Police Public Relations Directorate in Pretoria denied any knowledge of the incidents.

On Friday another beerhall was attacked and stoned.

Meanwhile, sporadic incidents of violence broke out in various parts of the country.

In Katlehong, funeral mourners stoned and set fire to a bus after allegedly robbing the driver.

In Dunnottar in Natal, police used tear-gas and rubber bullets to disperse crowds of rioters who stoned and gutted a beerhall.

At Galeshewe near Kimberley, rioters barricaded streets and attempted to set fire to a policeman's house.

Petrol bomb

In KwaThema near Springs, a man attempted to set fire to a church but was arrested by the police, reports Sapa.

In KwaNobuhle, a petrol bomb which did not ignite was hurled at a police patrol. The mob also threw stones at the police who used tear-gas to disperse them.

A community hall was attacked and gutted and a group of people set fire to empty business premises.

In Bloemfontein rioters put up road barricades. In Cradock a private house was set alight by a rampaging mob. In Langa near Uitenhage, a butchery was destroyed while in Adelaide a school was set on fire, resulting in extensive damage.

In Uithenage's coloured township on Saturday arsonists set fire to empty business premises, causing about R20 000 damage.

By SIPHO NGCOBO

A BEERHALL and two shops were stoned and looted, and streets barricaded with burning tyres and crates as police with dogs and assisted by soldiers conducted a house-to-house search in Duduza on the East Rand yesterday.

Police fired teargas canisters, and a sneeze-machine sprayed clouds of tear smoke to disperse crowds in the township.

The wave of violence erupted as residents came out in protest against a planned Inkatha Youth Brigade meeting.

Hundreds of Inkatha members wielding kieres, sjamboks and sticks marched to the local community hall with an escort of police Casspirs.

Residents attacked the Inkatha marchers with bricks and stones.

At the community hall, another group of residents tipped out pots of meat which were to be eaten by Inkatha members after the meeting, and further violence broke out. The meeting was abandoned.

A house in the area was attacked, and youths then barricaded the streets with burning tyres and attacked and looted a beerhall.

A spokesman for the Police Directorate of Public Relations in Pretoria said he had no knowledge of the incidents.

In Katlehong, near Germiston, three shots were fired by council policemen near the home of Mr A Lukhele, the Mayor of Katle-

Violence spreads to East Rand

RDM 22/4/85

11A

hong, during a peaceful demonstration through the township by squatters, reports MONTSHIWE MOROKE.

The shooting took place at 4pm on Saturday as scores of squatters and their supporters marched past Mr Lukhele's home on their way back to the squatter camp.

The unsuspecting marchers scattered in all directions after the first shot, but regrouped again near the mayor's residence to continue the last leg of their three-hour march.

A spokesman for the Home Seekers' Committee, the organisers of the demonstration, said they deplored the uncalled-for action by the council police.

The marchers, some carrying placards, sang freedom songs and raised the clenched fist salute.

Placards read "Councilors must resign now" and "We do not want guns, we want houses".

The participants includ-

ed both old and young, and weary mothers with babies strapped on their backs were encouraged by onlookers and hooting motorists during the march.

Last week, the squatter families were served with notices to demolish and remove their shacks by today.

Also in Katlehong, a Putco bus was set alight by mourners attending the funeral of a pupil.

A police spokesman said the driver of the bus was robbed of R60.

He blamed the "radical element" for causing trouble in townships and said it was "clear" those involved in the Katlehong incident were not a peaceful crowd on their way to a funeral.

In KwaThema, Springs, a man was arrested for allegedly attempting to set fire to a church.

In Dunnottar, police used tear smoke and rubber bullets to disperse crowds of rioters who stoned and gutted a beerhall.

● Picture — Page 2

UDF

clash

ends

meeting

Mercury Reporter.

A LABOUR Party report-back meeting in Wentworth yesterday, at which five coloured House of Representative MPs and a Cabinet Minister were present, ended in uproar after a heated clash with a small band of United Democratic Front supporters.

Mr Albie Stowman, Natal leader of the Labour Party who chaired the meeting in the Austerville Community Hall, was forced to close it down prematurely when pandemonium broke out after he refused to allow a UDF member and chairman of the United Committee of Concern, Mr Virgil Bonhomme, to address the meeting.

The 300-odd crowd which packed the hall began shouting at the chairman to allow Mr Bonhomme to speak, but he refused and immediately afterwards declared the meeting closed.

Rowdy

Earlier, Mr David Curry, own affairs Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture in the coloured House of Representatives, Mr Tommy Abrahams, the Labour Party MP for Wentworth and other Labour MPs were booed, jeered and called 'sell-outs' by UDF supporters.

Mr Curry told the rowdy meeting that if the people of Wentworth did not want the Labour Party they should take the full responsibility upon themselves to solve the housing problems.

'If the people want the UDF to help replan Wentworth, they can do so with our blessings. The UDF can go to the Government and tell them that it wants to take over,' he said.

The coloured community had two choices — either to solve its problems through violent or peaceful means, he said, adding that he decided to choose the latter.

He hit out at those who adopted 'boycott tactics' and accused some people of adopting 'double standards' by using 'the system when it suited them.'

117A

MM 22/1/85

UDF clash ends meeting Mercury Reporter. A LABOUR Party report-back meeting in Wentworth yesterday, at which five coloured House of Representative MPs and a Cabinet Minister were present, ended in uproar after a heated clash with a small band of United Democratic Front supporters. Mr Albie Stowman, Natal leader of the Labour Party who chaired the meeting in the Austerville Community Hall, was forced to close it down prematurely when pandemonium broke out after he refused to allow a UDF member and chairman of the United Committee of Concern, Mr Virgil Bonhomme, to address the meeting. The 300-odd crowd which packed the hall began shouting at the chairman to allow Mr Bonhomme to speak, but he refused and immediately afterwards declared the meeting closed. Rowdy Earlier, Mr David Curry, own affairs Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture in the coloured House of Representatives, Mr Tommy Abrahams, the Labour Party MP for Wentworth and other Labour MPs were booed, jeered and called 'sell-outs' by UDF supporters. Mr Curry told the rowdy meeting that if the people of Wentworth did not want the Labour Party they should take the full responsibility upon themselves to solve the housing problems. 'If the people want the UDF to help replan Wentworth, they can do so with our blessings. The UDF can go to the Government and tell them that it wants to take over,' he said. The coloured community had two choices — either to solve its problems through violent or peaceful means, he said, adding that he decided to choose the latter. He hit out at those who adopted 'boycott tactics' and accused some people of adopting 'double standards' by using 'the system when it suited them.'

Azapo man beaten up by students

Skaw 11A
22/4/85

The former president of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), Mr Lybon Mabasa, and the vice-president of the Azanian Student Movement (Azasm), Mr Thami Mcerwa, were beaten up by students at the University of the North at the weekend.

They said the students stabbed them with knives and beat them with bricks. They also forced them to shout slogans in support of imprisoned African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela.

"We were both knocked unconscious during the attack. My left leg was fractured," said Mr Mabasa.

"Azasm was holding a meeting on the campus to discuss the proposed national convention and its implications when a group of students shouting support for the Freedom Charter marched into the hall.

"The meeting was broken up by the intruders.

"Thami and I were caught in the toilets. I saw the students chopping and stabbing him. They knocked Thami unconscious and then came for me.

"They beat me up with hammers and stones. I received a knife wound in the arm when I tried to block the attack," he said.

"They told me to chant: 'Mandela'. I refused and they beat me up until I lost consciousness."

RDM 22/4/85 RAN

UDF rejects ANC link claim

THE UDF has rejected suggestions by the State President, Mr P W Botha, that it is linked to the banned African National Congress and the SA Communist Party. In a statement to the Rand Daily Mail, the UDF's publicity secretary, Mr Terror Lekota, said "it is a lie" to suggest the UDF "is intent on precipitating a revolution".

Students' leader in 'court'

~~11A~~
11A

SOWETO
22/11/85

VICE-President of the Azanian Students' Movement (Azasm), Mr Thami Mcerwa, yesterday claimed he was raided at his home in Soweto and taken to a "Kangaroo court" by more than 20 "Russians" who accused him of being leader of a group of pupils who stoned and looted several shops and a bottle store last week.

Mr Mcerwa said the men came to his home at about 2 am and after his father had answered their persistent knocking, they searched the house and ordered him to accompany them. In

the blue kombi they were travelling in he was made to kneel and was searched, his personal belongings and more than R80 that he had on him was taken. The kombi was then driven off to a shop in Mofolo.

He said: "At the store, I was taken to a small office in which I found a number of other youths who looked as if they had been beaten up. I was then made to face the 'magistrate', a prominent Sofasonke Party member, who said I was the leader of a group of youths who

stoned and looted shops. I explained that this was not so as I had just returned from the funeral in Uitenhage and was not present during the day."

He said during the proceedings in the "kangaroo court" the Sofasonke member was armed with a gun.

He was then taken to the shop-owner and after further explaining that he was not present during the trouble in the day, he was released and taken home. Mr Mcerwa said he was seeking legal opinion on the matter.

58/1/12
C.I.A.
C.P. 1507

Labour meeting ends in uproar

DURBAN — A Labour Party report-back meeting in Wentworth yesterday, at which House of Representative MPs and a Cabinet Minister were present, ended in uproar after a heated clash with United Democratic Front supporters.

Mr Albie Stowman, Labour's Natal leader, closed it when pandemonium broke out after he refused to allow a UDF member and chairman of the United Committee of Concern, Mr Virgil Bonhomme, to address the meeting.

The 300 crowd began shouting at the chairman to allow Mr Bonhomme to speak, but he refused and immediately afterwards declared the meeting closed.

Earlier, Mr David Curry, "own affairs" Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture in the House of Representatives, Mr Tommy Abrahams, Labour MP for Wentworth, and other Labour MPs were booed, jeered at and called "sell-outs" by UDF supporters.

— Sapa

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Goodwill 'essential in reform process'

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~~20/4/85~~
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Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Understanding about reform measures was needed at "grass-roots" level, according to the Minister of Co-operation, Development and Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

Delivering the closing speech at a joint political conference between the Inkatha Youth Brigade and the Afrikaanse Studentebond at the Rand Afrikaans University at the weekend, Dr Viljoen said that young people had to adapt to the requirements of negotiation and reform.

"Without goodwill and promotion of understanding, the risk is that successes which have been achieved will be spoilt in a few seconds."

Dr Viljoen said the present tricameral Parliament was only a part of constitutional reform and that blacks would eventually be accommodated in the reform process.

IGNORANCE

There was insufficient contact and a large amount of alienation and ignorance between the peoples of South Africa, he said.

Dr Viljoen said that although differentiation in community life was a sound principle, there was a need at a school and post-school level for more "systematic contact" between black and white youth.

"If this does not happen people will grow up not being able to work together for constitutional reform."

A realistic urbanisation policy was needed in South Africa and Dr Viljoen said the Government was giving high priority to the problem of influx control.

"DIABOLICAL"

Another speaker at the congress, Professor Willie Esterhuyse of the department of philosophy at the University of Stellenbosch, said the pass law system and influx control would have to be scrapped for negotiation between the various racial groups to take place.

He described influx control and the pass laws as "diabolical" measures and said that clarity was needed on the issue of citizenship.

Professor Esterhuyse said there was a new willingness among many Afrikaners to listen to other points of view and to break away from the stalemate which had developed in South Africa.

Bawu supports May Day unity

Sowetan 22/4/85

By JOSHUA
RABOROKO

THE Black Allied Workers Union yesterday came out in full support of a call by most trade unions representing the majority of South Africa's workers to hold this year's May Day celebrations together.

Bawu's Transvaal general secretary Mr Cosmos Thokoa said they supported the call in view of the fact that it was a "historic day" for workers throughout the world.

The unions called for far-reaching political and economic demands, which included the granting of full demo-

cratic rights for all and the lifting of bans on people and organisations.

The unions include the Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu) Council of Unions of South Africa (Cusa), the Alliance of Unregistered Trade Unions and others affiliated to the United Democratic Front (UDF).

In a statement the unions called for:

- May Day to be recognised as paid public holiday,
- Adequate housing for all at reasonable rental rates.
- A social security pro-

viding for free unemployment and medical benefits,

- Free compulsory education for all.
- The scrapping of "racist legislation including influx control, the Group Areas Act and the existing parliamentary system."

A spokesman for the unions also said that they have disassociated themselves from earlier reports that they called for June 16 to be a public holiday.

The spokesman added that there unions have expressed support for "the struggle being waged abroad in the interest of South Africa's working class."

Workers' union backs UDF

THE newly-formed National Federation of South African Workers (NFSAW) supports the principles of the United Democratic Front, but will not immediately affiliate, a spokesman said at the weekend. *SOWETAN*

NFSAWU's president Mr Herbert Barnabas, who resigned from the South African Allied Workers Union (Saawu) last year, said the meeting resolved to align itself with other "progressive-minded" organisations.

Mr Barnabas resigned from Saawu following an internal wrangle in the union which led to the formation of the two factions of the organisation — one active in the Transvaal led by Sisa Njikelane and the other in Natal under Sam Kikine.

He disclosed that

By JOSHUA RABOROKA

following a misunderstanding he was forced to resign and join the newly-formed NFSAWU whose membership was "growing rapidly," especially in the Transvaal. *22/4/85*

Committed

The union was committed to the workers' demands which include:

- A living wage.
- Better working conditions. *11/7*
- Freedom of association and the right to peacefully protest.
- rights.
- The scrapping of the influx control, Group Areas Act and other laws.
- The release of all political and trade union leaders.
- Equal education for all South Africans

and ~~the~~
• Better housing for workers. *NFSAW*

Mr Barnabas announced that they intended calling on a national council meeting before the end of the year to formulate new structures and to decide whether or not to affiliate with the UDF.

"We cannot immediately affiliate because we have to first get a mandate from the members. However, we believe in the principles of the UDF and support them in whatever they are doing," he said.

Office bearers include: Barnabas (national president), Mr Philemon Tau (vice-president), Mr Joseph Machaba (general secretary), Mr Joe Tau (national organiser) and Mr David Magwegwe (national treasurer).

Death row - plea to

THE mother of death row convict, Benjamin Moloise, Mrs Elsie Moloise, yesterday called on President P W Botha to show mercy and save her son from the gallows at a meeting in the Roman Catholic Church in Diepkloof.

P W Botha

Sowetan 22/4/85

11A
The protest meeting marked the launching of such meetings and vigils for the release of Moloise countrywide.

The campaign is being organised by the Release Mandela Committee — an affiliate of the UDF.

Speaker after speaker condemned the South African Government for "shooting young people and hanging the youth while the international community is paying tribute to it (the youth) by celebrating the International Year of the youth".

Moloise was sentenced to hang for shooting a policeman last September. Appeals against the death sentence have failed.

Meanwhile about 500 youths gathered for the launching of the Tembisa IYY celebrations.

They resolved not to participate in the Government-organised IYY activities because it served to "breed future soldiers and puppets who will take seats in the tricameral parliament."

The Transvaal Cosas vowed to continue with its programmes inspite of the Government clampdown on its activities.

Unity can be achieved in SA — Hendrickse

PARLIAMENT — South Africa could be united in a single nation under one flag and a common citizenship, the Labour Party leader, Mr Alan Hendrickse, said in the House of Representatives yesterday.

Mr Hendrickse, who is also Chairman of the Minister's Council and a member of the Cabinet, spoke on the budget vote of the State President.

He said the State President, Mr P W Botha, was the right man to lead the country to peace and to the recognition of individual rights.

He recounted the 20-year history of his party's fight to gain a foothold in the seat of real power, Parliament itself, and said that for the first time people other than white had become part of the decision-making process in South Africa.

"For the first time also people of other than white are in the highest echelons of power, the Cabinet."

The Labour Party had taken the right decision to participate in the new dispensation.

"We have no doubt it was

the correct decision because our presence contributed to the progress reached.

"We may not have reached the decision on (the repeal of) the Mixed Marriages Act and Immorality Act if we had not been here.

"From here we can only go forward and that is the name of the game in South Africa.

"There is a need for the realisation of the hopes and aspirations of the other people in South Africa," Mr Hendrickse said to loud calls of "hear-hear".

"We must take cognisance of the total black aspiration and take note of the problem of sharing a common citizenship.

"We can find it. It is an essential if we are to think of a common loyalty."

Without a common loyalty the forces of evil could divide while a common patriotism bound together.

"I believe that under one flag we can create one nation," Mr Hendrickse said.

He believed these were the binding factors and that to create unity needed one flag, one nation and one citizenship. — Sapa.

Govt won't abdicate says PW

PARLIAMENT — The South African Government was not prepared to "abdicate" and have the police and the military dismantled, to have the "dubious privilege" of joining the African National Congress in a so-called national convention, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said yesterday.

He was speaking on the security threat to South Africa in the House of Representatives at the start of the Committee Stage debate on his vote.

In a similarly worded message to that which he gave in the House of Assembly last week, he warned that the potential for countrywide violence had increased markedly, but that the state of affairs generated by the "forces of hatred" could not be accepted.

Mr Botha repeated his assertion that, in spite of the United Democratic Front's statements against violence, evidence was abundant it was being instructed by the ANC and the SA Communist Party, whose aim was the violent overthrow of the state in South Africa. — Sapa.

PW Botha offers Nelson Mandela freedom again

By CHRIS FREIMOND

Political Correspondent

PARLIAMENT. — The State President, Mr P W Botha, yesterday repeated his offer of conditional freedom to the jailed African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela.

He said, however, he believed Mandela was not a "free man" to consider the offer because there were "forces" placing stumbling blocks in his way.

Speaking in the House of Representatives in the debate on his budget vote, Mr Botha said he was prepared to concede that Mandela had been in jail for a very long time.

He said he went through Mandela's files again recently and knew what it was like for a man to be jailed for so long time for something in which he believed.

Mr Botha said he had not put Mandela in jail. The ANC leader had been sentenced after a trial and the sentence was confirmed on appeal.

He repeated his offer of earlier this year to Mandela and other prisoners



PRESIDENT P W BOTHA

under similar circumstances that they would be freed if they renounced violence as a political tool.

Mandela and other key ANC leaders rejected the offer.

Mr Botha said yesterday he would not press the issue or take it any further than repeating his offer.

In his speech yesterday

Mr Botha also said no blacks were jailed in South Africa because they disagreed with the Government on political matters.

In response to a plea by the coloured opposition leader, Mr Denis de la Cruz, not to lock the United Democratic Front or the ANC out of negotiations about the future, Mr Botha said he was closing the door on violence, not negotiation.

Mr Botha said there was more dialogue between blacks, coloureds and whites in South Africa today than at any time since Union in 1910.

He said the Prohibition of Political Interference Act was at present being considered by the Cabinet and a decision was expected soon.

The repeal of the Act has been one of the Labour Party's main demands.

Fear to blame, says Azapo

By RICH MKHONDO

THE Azanian Peoples Organisation (AZAPO) said yesterday it regarded the attack on its members by University of the North students at the weekend as "fear-filled and reactionary behaviour by anti-black consciousness elements."

Azapo's Publicity Secretary, Mr Imran Moosa, said: "It was obvious that those elements feel threatened by the appeal the black consciousness philosophy has for the people."

"It is not our function to reassure them that the writing is on the wall for them to accept our philosophy because people believe in it without being coerced," he said.

"The reactionary and fear-filled behavior of the elements is an attempt to drum up anti-Azapo feeling around the country," he said.

Those attacked included Mr Lybon Mabasa, former president of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), Mr Thami Mcerwa, vice president of the the Azanian Student Movement (Azasm) and Azapo member, Mr Sydney Temba, Azapo officials said yesterday.

Mr Temba is in a serious condition in hospital at Groothoek, near Pietersburg, in the northern Transvaal.

They were attacked with knives, bricks and stones, the officials added.

Mr Mabasa and Mr Mcerwa had returned to Johannesburg for medical examination.

Their injuries included a number of knife wounds, officials said.

The attacks — which took place during an Azasm meeting on campus — were thought to be the result of rivalry between opposing supporters of Black Consciousness and the Freedom Charter.

Former Azasm Publicity secretary, Mr Kabelo Lengane, was last year attacked by University of the North students as he tried to address them.

United Democratic Front Publicity Secretary, Mr Terror Lekota, yesterday said his organisation regarded Azapo as "part of the struggle against apartheid and there was no need to fight each other".

"We only differ in tactics which could be used to dismantle apartheid and that does not mean that we should fight each other".

P W's first tentative steps to federation

RDM 23/4/85

(SIA) (UFA)

PRESIDENT P W Botha may have taken a first hesitant step toward a federal solution of South Africa's problems with his declaration in Parliament that he was no longer committed to the policy of dispossessing blacks of South African citizenship when their designated "homelands" attain independence.

His announcement coincided with an invitation to opposition parties to serve on the special Cabinet Committee examining how to meet the political aspirations of blacks living permanently outside their assigned "homelands."

The invitation was quickly accepted by the Leader of the Opposition in the white chamber, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, whose Progressive Federal Party is strongly committed to a federalism. It was similarly accepted by the tiny New Republic Party, whose policy partially embraces federalism.

Significantly, the invitation was spurned by Dr Andries Treurnicht's ultra-Rightist Conservative Party, which, as the heir of the Verwoerdian tradition of complete political separation between the races, is hostile to federalism as a form of racial power-sharing.

The upshot is that the inclination towards federalism in the special Cabinet Committee will be boosted by the participation of the PFP and the NRP without being countered by the influence of the CP.

Officially, of course, President Botha is committed to the formation of a confederation between South Africa and the "black homelands," all 10 of which are destined to become nominally independent in terms of the original blue-

print drawn up by the high priest of "grand apartheid", Dr Hendrik Verwoerd.

But confederation per definition means an association between separate sovereign states, each with their own citizenship. Mr Botha's statement, with its inference of a common citizenship for all South Africans, is clearly inimical to confederation.

Political re-ordering of relations between dominant whites and subordinate blacks within the framework of a common citizenship points towards a form of power-sharing within a single state, however much the ruling National Party may for political reasons try to camouflage that.

The NP itself acknowledged in a 1982 statement there can only be one central government for each territorial unit. As blacks living permanently outside their supposed "homelands" occupy the same territorial unit as whites, coloureds and Indians, they can, in terms of the NP's stated position, only be accommodated within government for that territory.

Given the NP's fear of black majority rule within a tightly centralised state, restructuring is likely to take place on a loosely linked federal model rather than within a unitary paradigm.

Two key factors appear to have impelled Mr Botha to take a guarded step away from confederation to federation: the collapse, under the pressure of rebellion in the townships, of black local authorities; and the adamant refusal of several key "black homelands" including KwaZulu with a resi-

PATRICK LAURENCE, Political Editor

dent population of 4-million, to accept Pretoria's offer of independence.

Established in 1983 under the Black Local Authorities Act, the new black township councils in white-designated South Africa were meant to serve as partial compensation to blacks for their exclusion from the new tri-racial parliament for whites, coloureds and Indians.

But, under relentless popular pressure in the townships, they have all but disintegrated. According to the latest official count more than 150 councillors have resigned. Several have been brutally murdered by black mobs. Of the 34 councils introduced in 1983, only five are still functioning according to the Urban Foundation.

As long as blacks are excluded from participation in central government, black local authorities will lack credibility and viability. Hence the need for change at the top of the political pyramid to provide a place for blacks and, thereby, to help bring an end to the ongoing rebellion in the townships.

The Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, made just that point in an interview in Rapport at the weekend, in which he re-stressed that blacks will have to be given a say at all levels in decision-making affecting them.

The refusal of leaders of several key non-indepen-

dent "homelands" to accept independence has confronted Mr Botha with an impasse in his quest to establish a confederation. Of these leaders, the most important is Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu. His followers account for a quarter of South Africa's of 24-million blacks.

But even leaders of the nominally independent "homeland" have expressed opposition to the confederation.

President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana has advocated the creation of a South African federation as the way to overcome the South Africa's problems.

Transkei's President Kaiser Matanzima is a signatory to a declaration by the South African Federal Union, an alliance of "homelands" opposed to apartheid.

The declaration set as its primary goal re-unification along federal lines between South Africa and its putatively independent homelands.

Chief Buthelezi, who heads the powerful Inkatha movement, has declared that he is prepared to accept a non-racial federation as a compromise solution between black hopes for, and white fears of, a strongly centralised state based on universal adult suffrage.

Significantly, Chief Buthelezi and President Botha re-established man-to-man contact in January after a hiatus of five years.

Their meeting should be seen in the context of the meeting in Johannesburg at the weekend between the Inkatha Youth Brigade and the Afrikaanse Studentebond, a pro-Government student union.

These developments have taken place amid reports that the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning is re-appraising the three-year-old Buthelezi Commission Report. The reports have been confirmed unofficially.

Published in 1982, the report recommended a form of power-sharing between black and white in the KwaZulu-Natal region. Originally it was rejected by Mr Botha's administration. Now, however, it is under reconsideration.

Of equal relevance is a recent largely unpublished meeting in Cape Town, between Mr Botha's chief constitutional architect, Mr Chris Heunis, and Chief Buthelezi. As Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Heunis, is chairman of the special cabinet committee investigating how to fulfil black aspirations.

As former university academics concluded in a recent analysis of the shift toward federation: "There is evidence that Natal-KwaZulu is being seen by many reformers as the laboratory for (new) units of representation appropriate to the second tier within a federalist scheme."

CAPE TIMES
Thursday, April 23, 1985

Buthelezi calls for new leader

Own Correspondent

ULUNDI — The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, says the State President, Mr P W Botha, is moving into politics which neither assuages the anger of those to the right of him nor those to the left of him.

Chief Buthelezi said the time was now ripe for a white leader to emerge who would lead South Africa away from the abyss towards which previous National Party governments directed it.

Commenting on an announcement by Mr Botha last week that the cabinet had approved the granting of full land ownership rights to blacks in urban areas qualifying for 99-year leasehold

rights and that an umbrella structure would be established above black local government level, Chief Buthelezi said he could not share in the optimism which the announcements had created.

The chief said Mr Botha had not disclosed the intention of this Cabinet Committee. Its direction was shrouded in the secrecy of National Party decision-making.

Chief Buthelezi said Mr Botha must still necessarily be talking within the framework of his clearly-stated aim of establishing a confederation of Southern African states. In this confederation, the existing tricameral Parlia-

ment would continue to give whites the right to make final decisions in 87 percent of South Africa and over all its wealth, its internal policy and its foreign policy.

"Reform must move away from this monopolistic white power," he said.

"Had the State President indicated that he was prepared to consider alternatives to the confederal future on which he hung his referendum campaign, it would perhaps have been another matter."

Chief Buthelezi said the umbrella structures about which the State President was now talking must, therefore, be seen as structures within the four corners of apartheid, and as props to the new constitution.

He maintained that Mr Botha was falling between two stools.

He was either following a double agenda in which his right wing was being deluded that the measures he announced did not amount to a step towards power-sharing; alternatively, black South Africa was being deluded that the steps he was now taking would, in fact, lead to power-sharing.

He said the Progressive Federal Party would be unable to play a vital role in the heralding of a new future within the framework of apartheid.

Intent

The party would not do this within the framework of the special Cabinet Committee's obligations unless the State President issued a statement of intent with black leaders about movement towards power-sharing.

The KwaZulu leader said the PFP would have grave difficulty in campaigning among blacks for its acceptance of a post on the special Cabinet Committee.

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SOWETAN

AZAPO MEMBERS ATTACKED AGAIN

11A (S) Sowetan 23/4/85

SIX people were injured in a violent confrontation between members of the Azanian Students' Movement and the Azanian Students' Organisation at the University

By ALI MPHAKI

of the North (Turfloop) on Sunday. Among the injured was former Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) president Mr

Lybon Mabasa, who was invited to deliver a paper at a meeting organised by Azasm on the campus. Azasm is affiliated to

the National Forum with sister bodies Azapo, Azanyu and other black consciousness organisations. Azasm is affiliated to the United Democratic Front with other

To Page 4

Baby girl badly burnt

See Page 3

The president of the Soweto Civic Association, Dr Nthato Motson, Dr Joe Mphahlele, Dr Joe Mphahlele said that preference was given to the cause of her weight. She was in mid-1984.

11A

Cape Times 23/4/85

UDF rejects Botha forum

By EBRAHIM MOOSA
Political Reporter

THE United Democratic Front yesterday discounted the multi-party initiative of the State President, Mr P W Botha, to find solutions for black constitutional rights as "unable to defuse the armed conflict within South Africa".

Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekhota, UDF national publicity secretary, speaking from Durban, said that Mr Botha's fo-

rum was "unrepresentative and unsatisfactory".

Asked if there was any possibility of the UDF talking to the government via the proposed new forum, Mr Lekhota said: "There is no chance that we can participate. We can only participate in a forum which is democratically elected and which did not exclude any section of the community. If the government approached us directly we will reply to them and state our position."

BRIEFING

ANC sources deny SA fruit poisoning

RDM
23/4/85

SOURCES close to the African National Congress (ANC) have denied that the organisation had anything to do with the poisoning of South African fruit in Denmark.

Reports that "ANC supporters" had tampered with fruit in Copenhagen stores have been circulated from Denmark, following the receipt of a letter by the Ritzaus Bureau, a Danish news agency.

Informed sources, close to the ANC in London, said yesterday that the organisation had never tampered with fruit in the past and had taken no decision to do so now.

Mbus 23/4/85

117

Mandela not free to decide — P W

Parliamentary Staff

PRESIDENT P W Botha has said he did not think the imprisoned African National Congress leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, was free to take a decision to renounce violence.

Speaking in the House of Representatives yesterday, Mr Botha said he believed there were "forces stopping him" or "putting stumbling blocks in his way".

President Botha was responding to suggestions that the matter be reopened following Mr Mandela's reported refusal of the Government's offer to consider his release if he renounced violence as a political instrument.

Influenced

Earlier Mr Allan Hendrickse, chairman of the coloured Ministers' Council, told the House he was aware of "forces" that could have influenced Mr Man-



President P W Botha

dela's decision.

Referring to a visit by MPs to Robben Island and other prisons, he asked President Botha to examine the matter again.

The leader of the Opposition, Mr Dennis de la Cruz, made a plea to the President not to "close the doors permanently" on the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the African

National Congress (ANC).

President Botha said he was not closing the door on proper deliberations and discussions, but on violence.

Lashed out

In his main address during the debate on his budget vote he spoke again about the security situation and lashed out at organisations and people seeking violence as a political solution.

He said there were strong indications that the South African Communist Party had strengthened its grip on the ANC, and that the UDF was hoping to create an intensified spiral of violence aimed at making South Africa "ungovernable".

The Government was not prepared to abdicate and have the police and the military dismantled in order to have "the dubious privilege" of joining the ANC in a National Convention.

Hendrickse calls for more reforms, less discrimination

Parliamentary Staff

THE Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, has called for more reforms and for the abolition of discriminatory laws and practices.

He has also called for serious attention to be given to the issue of common citizenship for all South Africans and the participation of black people in political decision-making.

Mr Hendrickse, who is also chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives and a member of the Cabinet, was speaking in yesterday's debate on the State President's Budget vote.

President P W Botha, who spoke twice during the debate, listened intently to speeches by Mr Hendrickse and Mr Dennis de la Cruz, Leader of the Opposition.

ONE FLAG

Mr Hendrickse paid tribute to Mr Botha as "A man who can lead South Africa to peace and security."

South Africa, Mr Hendrickse said, could be united in a single

nation under one flag and a common citizenship.

Recounting the Labour Party's 20-year fight to gain a foothold in Parliament, Mr Hendrickse said that for the first time, people other than whites had become part of the decision-making process.

Praising the Government's latest moves toward reform, Mr Hendrickse said his party was happy about the extension of freehold rights announced by President Botha. This was "a gigantic step".

Mr Hendrickse again rejected violence as a political solution and said there was no doubt that "forces of evil" were behind unrest and incidents of stone-throwing.

IMMORALITY ACT

Calling for more reforms, Mr Hendrickse said serious attention had to be given to the position of community councils, which had not been given adequate finances.

After the decision to scrap the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and Section 16 of the

Immorality Act, immediate attention should be given to other steps that were "feasible".

Attention should be given to the Political Interference Act and to apartheid in trains and taxis.

The Leader of the Opposition, Mr Dennis de la Cruz, said the average white South African had been out of touch for far too long with the feelings of people of colour.

Mr de la Cruz appealed to President Botha to do everything in his power to have the pass laws and influx control scrapped.

Replying, President Botha said Mr de la Cruz had created the impression that there had been no improvement or progress in the past. This was not true.

Mr Botha said Mr de la Cruz would get nowhere with slogans and formulas. As Leader of the Opposition it was his duty to show that he could be an alternative Government, instead of criticising the leader of the governing party.

Top UDF^{11/6 US} leaders^{23/4/85} detained^{11/7}

JOHANNESBURG. — Three leaders of the United Democratic Front, including its General Secretary, have been detained by police in connection with unrest in Transvaal townships last year, according to a police spokesman in Pretoria.

Besides Mr Popo Molefe, the spokesman said, police had arrested Mr Mosiwa "Terror" Lekota, who is publicity secretary of the UDF, as well as Mr Moses Chikane, a former Transvaal secretary for the organisation.

The spokesman said the three men would not be charged yet.

"An investigation has been instituted in respect of the involvement of the three detainees in cases already under investigation, and which are at present in the hands of the Attorney-General," the spokesman said.

He added that the cases arose from unrest in the Vaal Triangle last August and September.

Mr Molefe and Mr Lekota were among 15 detainees released on December 10 last year, after being held under section 28 of the Internal Security Act.

At least 10 of the others freed at the same time are at present being held in a Durban jail, and are to face a major treason trial set for the middle of this year. — Sapa.

RDM 23/11/75

PAC moves 24

MASERU. — Twenty-four members of the Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa are due to leave Lesotho for Tanzania at the end of this month, the PAC announced in Maseru yesterday. The PAC has promised the Lesotho Government that it will do all in its power to ensure the speedy resettlement of members of the PAC in other parts of Africa.

(11A)

Dawood Khan resigns as WCTA chairman

Cape Times 23/4/85 11A

Staff Reporter

MR DAWOOD KHAN has tendered his resignation as chairman of the Western Cape Traders' Association.

In a statement, the Press and Communication Liaison Committee of the WCTA said Mr Khan's resignation "came as a surprise" after his "all-cost attempt to return as head of the WCTA".

Mr Khan was elected chairman of the WCTA at a general meeting on March 13. He resigned two days later "because he had not been consulted on the issuing of a press statement" by the newly-established Press and Liaison Committee, on which Mr Khan did not serve.

Mr Khan had previously resigned from the WCTA after being suspended. He was later allowed to return.

ANC has 'never helped' the poor

African Affairs
Correspondent 117

BLUNDI—The KwaZulu Minister of Works, Chief Simon Gumede, said members of the African National Congress in exile had never channelled their money to South Africa's destitute blacks whom they claimed to be representing overseas.

Speaking during debate on the policy speech of the Chief Minister yesterday, Chief Gumede said the ANC poured money instead into the funds of 'petty and unimportant groups' such as the Council of South African Students (Cosas) to produce booklets which denigrated Inkatha. 23/4/85

He said international communities gave members of the ANC millions to look after their families and to build themselves luxurious houses.

Chief Gumede said there was no one to check on the day-to-day activities of the ANC. Officials always resorted to cosmetic strategies which would gain them fame.

The mission in exile had been sent out by the oppressed people of South Africa and they should be accountable to those people. Mercury

Chief Gumede said the external mission of the ANC should stop 'biting the hand that fed them'. Members of the mission should revive their relationship with the people directly involved in the struggle.

Mabasa assaulted

From Page 1

progressive democratic organisations committed to the Freedom Charter.

The two groupings, the BC movement and Progressive Democrats (PDs) constitute the major political ideologies in the black community.

The confrontation at Turfloop is a continuation of the rivalry between them as they vie for control of the black masses and to make capital out of any situation that arises.

About 10 days ago UDF supporters barred Azapo supporters from attending the mass Uitenhage funeral. Early this year Azapo members were injured after being attacked by Congress of South African Students supporters at Tembisa. Cosas is also affiliated to the UDF.

Others injured were Mr Thami Mcerwa, vice-president of Azasm, Mr Sydney

Temba (who was admitted at the Groothoek Hospital with multiple stab wounds), also an Azapo member. Ms Sesi Baloyi, Azasm member, Mr Teboho Moloi, Azaso member and former Turfloop SRC president, and another student whose name was not available to The SOWETAN late yesterday.

Mr Temba's condition was late last night reported to be serious after he had undergone an emergency operation.

Mr Mabasa said while the Azasm meeting was on, a "group of students shouting support for the Freedom Charter marched into the hall disrupting the proceedings.

"They asked us to leave the hall as they had also booked it for their meeting. We left," said Mr Mabasa. He added: "While we continued with the meeting at

a different hall, they came in again and a fight broke out.

"I saw Sesi Baloyi being beaten up. Thami and I were caught in the toilets. I saw them chopping and stabbing Thami, breaking his teeth with a brick in the process." 23/4/85

But both Azaso and UDF yesterday denied attacking BC activists, claiming they (BC) came on the campus armed with an assortment of weapons.

"Since when do people attend meetings armed?" Azaso president Mr Simphiwe Mgoduso asked.

Azapo said in a statement: "In the context of various assaults to our members since 1982, the attack on Mabasa is the straw that will break the camel's back."

The UDF, of which Azaso is an affiliate,

said in a statement: "We appeal to Azapo and Azasm leadership to control their members. We ourselves will continue to restrain our rank and file against any form of provocation."

The Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu, said: "Who benefits from this? Why must we intimidate one another? When are we going to learn to agree to disagree? Black solidarity has been preached for too long for us not to understand its importance."

Other leaders pointed out that an Azapo-UDF fight would lay both organisations wide open to attacks by Government-supporting organisations. These Government-supporting organisations would attack members of the one organisation knowing that the rival group would be blamed, they said.

Man dies as arson, stonings continue

Another man has died in continuing violence on the Reef, in the Eastern Cape and in the Vaal Triangle, police reported from Pretoria today.

The man died in hospital after being hurt during a confrontation with police at Duduza near Nigel yesterday.

At least three other people were injured while buses, delivery vehicles, SAP and private vehicles and a councillor's house were stoned, according to a police statement covering the 12 hours ended 8 am today.

"At Graaff-Reinet, a white man and woman were both slightly injured when their vehicle was stoned while they were delivering goods in the black township.

BEATEN

"They were later also beaten by a crowd with quirts and sticks," the statement said.

At Emadalweni High School, Soweto, police used tearsmoke to disperse boycotting pupils, while at Kwa-Thema near Springs, two municipal vehicles were damaged by fire.

In New Brighton and in Kwazakele, two buses were destroyed by petrol bombs, while at Bongweni near Cookhouse, a private dwelling was extensively damaged when it was set alight.

Incidents of arson were also reported from Kwazakele, where a bus and a private car were gutted. — Sapa.

Three top members of the United Democratic Front have been detained, the Police Directorate of Public Relations announced in Pretoria today.

They are publicity secretary Mr Terror Lekota, who has shot to international prominence in recent weeks with his outspoken opposition to the All Blacks rugby tour; general secretary Mr Popo Molefe; and Pretoria activist Mr Moss Chikane.

The police have not disclosed under what section of the law they have been held, but lawyers acting for Mr Lekota (35) said he was held at HF Verwoerd Airport in Port Elizabeth this morning in terms of section 29 of the Internal Security Act — which provides for indefinite solitary confinement for purposes of interrogation.

Police liaison officer Lieutenant Henry Beck said: "Investigations are under way to determine the involvement of the three detainees in cases currently under investigation. The cases lie with the Attorney-General and relate to unrest in the Vaal Triangle in August and September."

Mr Lekota, the main UDF spokesman, has become linked with its threat to demonstrate against the All Blacks tour; its commitment to increasing direct mass protest action; and its position that there can be no negotiation with the Government except through popular leaders — many of whom are jailed — and representative organisations, many of which are also banned.

A UDF statement today said: "It is striking that Terror Lekota was detained so soon after the decision of the UDF to protest against the New Zealand rugby tour.

"We see this as a reprisal against the UDF and Mr Lekota, for challenging a symbol of Afrikaner culture. We want to know what this has to do with state security."

Pungent critics

Bishop Desmond Tutu, Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, said the Government ought not to detain people with whom it should be speaking.

"The situation in this country will not be resolved until the authorities sit down and talk — even with their most pungent critics."

Dr Beyers Naude, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, said detention of Mr Lekota increased concern about what will happen to the UDF leadership.

"It also increases concern about the effect this kind of action may have on the UDF, and the black community in general, in a situation of serious tension."

The three held were detained last year under section 28 of the Internal Security Act, but released without charge.

3 UDF leaders


Police swoop on

Staff Reporters 23/4/85

MA

S.

Bishop Tutu... Government must talk to their Pungent critics.



Political Staff

THE government continued its persistent denunciation of the United Democratic Front yesterday as three UDF leaders were detained in a new crackdown on the organization.

There were also strong hints that more arrests were in the offing and a warning by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, that he would not allow the UDF's planned demonstrations against New Zealand's All Blacks during their proposed tour of South Africa.

In Parliament the State President, Mr P W Botha, made his third successive attack against the government's extra-parliamentary opponents in less than a week.

The attack came in the wake of the detention of the UDF's publicity secretary, Mr "Terror" Lekota, its general secretary, Mr Popo Molefe, and a former Transvaal secretary, Mr Moses Chikane.

'Infiltrated'

Mr Botha yesterday said the government was not prepared to abdicate to "leftist radical forces" which made unreasonable demands.

In detailing what he saw as security threats facing the country, Mr Botha singled out the UDF, who he said had been infiltrated by the ANC and "hoped to create a spiral of violence which will culminate in revolution".

The ANC and the South

Botha slams UDF, three leaders held

TIME TIMES 24/4/88



Mr Louis le Grange

African Communist Party were so "interlinked and interwoven" that there was no longer any difference between them. In addition, both were being dictated to from outside South Africa, he said.

The government was prepared to talk to "anybody interested in the future of South Africa in a friendly, constitutional and evolutionary way" but was not prepared to abdicate to forces intent on anarchy.

Mr Le Grange told the Afrikaanse Sakekamer in Cape Town yesterday that the UDF was "second only to the SACP

and the ANC" as a cause of unrest currently sweeping the country.

The three UDF leaders detained yesterday have been linked by the police to investigations into last year's unrest in the Vaal Triangle.

A UDF spokesman, however, immediately accused the State of detaining the three in an attempt "to ensure that the New Zealand rugby tour goes ahead".

He accused the New Zealand Rugby Union and all those who welcomed its decision to come to South Africa as "accomplices in this act".

In a statement last

night the UDF said opposition to the New Zealand rugby tour would not be stopped by detentions and harassment.

He added that the UDF believed the State President's attempts a few days ago to link the UDF with banned organizations was "preparation for what has happened this morning".

A police spokesman said in a statement yesterday that "investigations are being conducted into the three detainees' involvement in cases already investigated and which are at present with the Attorney-General".

Unrest

"The mentioned cases arose from the unrest in the Vaal Triangle during August and September last year," he said.

All three are believed to be held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, which allows for indefinite detention, although this has not been confirmed.

Mr Lekota was detained at Port Elizabeth's airport. Mr Molefe's detention became known when he failed to arrive in Port Elizabeth yesterday and it is believed he was detained while driving to Jan Smuts Airport on his way to Port Elizabeth. Mr Chikane was fetched from his house in Pretoria.

It is reliably understood that more arrests are to follow—mostly related to activities connected with unrest and stayaways on the Reef.

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Ex-PAC

man sues

Winter

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Mr Matthew Nkoana, a former official of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), claims he has been libelled and 'seriously' defamed by allegations made in Gordon Winter's book 'Inside Boss'.

Mr Nkoana is conducting his own case at the Royal Courts of Justice in the Strand, and is suing Penguin Books and Mr Winter for damages.

He is also seeking an injunction to restrain Penguin from further publication of this alleged libel.

Penguin Books is disputing only the question of damages.

In an affidavit signed by Mr Winter, and witnessed in Corfu in May, the author states that he believes "Nkoana" to be a common name.

He said the Matthew Nkoana referred to by him in his book was also known by two other names. He was not the Matthew Nkoana who had instituted the action.

The plaintiff, Mr Nkoana, is described in papers before court as a freelance journalist and a black citizen of South Africa, who has lived in exile since 1962.

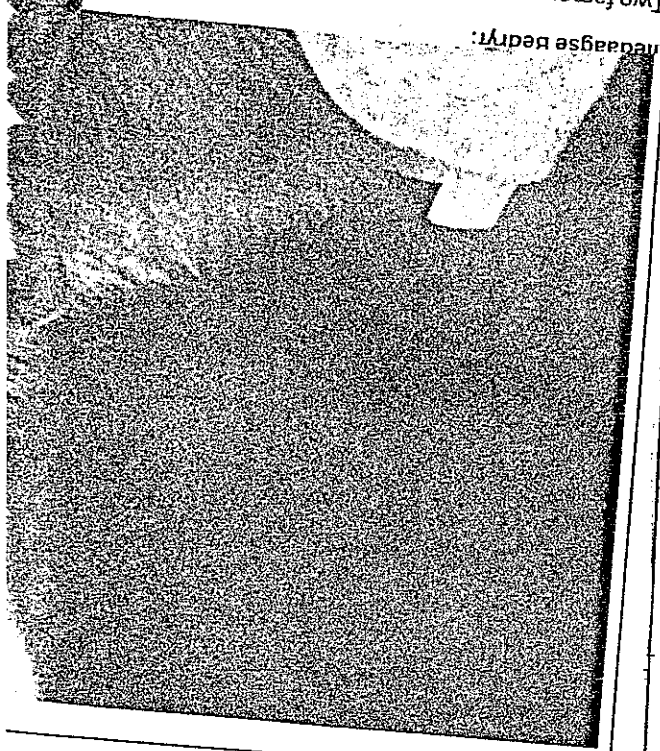
He was an active member and former official of PAC, "a political group- ing dedicated to the overthrow of the South African Government".

Mr Nkoana claims he has been seriously injured in his reputation and has been brought into public scandal, odium and contempt.

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From RICHARD WALKER
NEW YORK. — "Dallas" has been ousted as America's most-watched television series by "Dynasty", a specifically designed to rate its success.

Final ratings for the 1978 TV season placed "Dynasty" over "Dallas" by just 0.1 per cent, with more than 21 million homes tuned into each of the weekly broadcasts.



Joan Collins

WEDNESDAY

★ FOUNDED 1876

Cape

UDF detentions slated

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The detention of three United Democratic Front leaders was clearly an attempt at intimidation, the Progressive Federal Party spokesman on law and order, Mrs Helen Suzman, said yesterday.

Commenting on the detentions of UDF publicity secretary Mr Terror Lekota, general secretary Mr Popo Molefe and former Transvaal secretary Mr Moss Chikane, Mrs Suzman said they came as no surprise after the threatening utterances by the State President recently.

"However that does not mean we approve of them."

Mrs Suzman was referring to the recent attack on the UDF made by President Botha in the House of Assembly.

Mr Botha said last week that the UDF was behind violence in many of the strife-torn townships around the country.

He also suggested that the UDF was an internal wing of the ANC and the SA Communist Party.

Mr Trevor Manuel, Western Cape secretary of the UDF, said the detentions should be seen as "an immediate follow-up to the State President's announcement that the UDF will be acted against".

"Instead of acting against the UDF as a structure, the State has established a pattern of going for individuals, probably because the UDF enjoys such support internally and also internationally," he said.

The police have said they are holding the three men to determine their involvement with cases already before the Attorney-General relating to unrest in the Vaal Triangle in August and September last year.

All three men were in preventive detention for periods during the second half of last year. Mr

Lekota from August 20 to December 10, Mr Molefe from early October to December 10 and Mr Chikane during August and September.

● The US Government said today that the detention of peaceful opponents of apartheid without charging them was "fundamentally detrimental" to the white-black dialogue that South Africa needs for reform, reports *The Star's* New York Bureau.

Mr Bruce said that the US had said often in the past that it strongly opposed the detention without charge of apartheid's peaceful opponents.

Such actions were fundamentally detrimental to the establishment of a dialogue between the SA Government and the black majority that was necessary to achieve a positive movement away from apartheid and toward a system based on the consent of the governed.

No meeting with Cosas *CAP. T. 13 24/4/84* *(119)* *(255)*

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The Department of Education, which is responsible for black schools outside the homelands, had not had any official meetings with the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) and the Azanian Students Organization (Azaso), the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said yesterday.

Two ministers attend Cradock action meeting

29/4/85 P. D. Gerber
11A

CRADOCK — The MP for Cradock and Deputy Minister for Health and Welfare, Dr George Morrison, and the Deputy Minister of Co-operation, Development and Training, Mr Sam de Beer, attended a meeting convened here by the Cradock Action Committee to discuss the situation in Lingelihle.

In an interview after the meeting, the chairman of the action committee Mr Philip Gerber, said the committee represented the whole community and its purpose was to help establish an orderly and peaceful community which lived harmoniously with its neighbours.

He expressed regret that the Cradora (Cradock Residents Association) committee had decided not to attend the meeting, especially since they had requested it and because they claimed to be the representatives of the residents of Lingelihle.

He said the committee suspected it had not been a unanimous decision by Cradora not to attend the meeting.

"We have fulfilled our undertaking to meet and to make available the hand of good neighbourliness and should Cradora change its mind the hand of friendship will still be available," Mr Gerber said.

A similar committee was formed last year and interested people were invited to serve on it, which they did, but pressure was exerted on them to withdraw, he said.

The purpose of that committee was to determine the grievances and problems facing Lingelihle residents and to attempt to solve these in co-operation with them.

Mr Gerber said that for a peaceful community there must be peace, law and order and good education.

It was appreciated that the parents of the children had unanimously decided to send their children back to school.

Mr Gerber said there had to be structures to identify and satisfy the needs of the community. In order to meet these demands the committee considered it essential to have an autonomous municipality chosen by all the residents in Lingelihle to represent them.

Such an opportunity had been available, but the municipality had ceased to operate in November last year and the town council resigned in January.

Without such a council, it was impossible to create order out of disorder.

"Our aim is to assist in recreating such a structure," he said.

Several recommendations were made to the minister to improve the quality of life in Lingelihle and Mr Gerber said the committee was confident that positive action would result from these recommendations. — DDC.

UDF MEN DETAINED

~~SECRET~~
LHA

Sowetan 24/1/85

THREE leaders of the United Democratic Front, including its publicity secretary Mr. Mosina "Terror" Lekota, have been detained by police in connection with unrest in Transvaal townships last year, a police spokesman in Pretoria said yesterday.

The other two are UDF general secretary Mr Simon Popo Molefe and former Transvaal UDF secretary Mr Moses Chikane.

Mr Lekota was detained at Port Elizabeth's H.F. Verwoerd Airport yesterday morning. He was to have held talks with leading black union leaders in Port Elizabeth.

Mr Molefe, who was to have boarded a flight from Johannesburg to Port Elizabeth for the meeting, was not on board when the plane arrived at Port Elizabeth at 9am yesterday, according to the UDF administrative secretary of the Transvaal region, Mr Pat Lephunya.

The public relations division of the South African Police said in-

By ALI MPHAKI and ALINAH DUBE

vestigations are being conducted into the three detainees in connection with their involvement in cases already investigated and which are at present with the Attorney-General.

The mentioned cases arose from unrest in the Vaal Triangle during August and September last year, the police said.

The UDF in a statement condemned the detentions "with the contempt they deserved".

worldwide opposition by the peace-loving democrats."

The UDF said it was also holding the New Zealand Rugby Football Union "and all those that welcome its decision to tour this land of terror, accomplice to this act."

"We want to reiterate our opposition to this tour. Our opposition cannot be stopped by detention and harassment," the statement said.

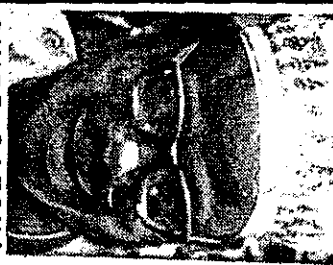
Reforms

Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa, secretary general of the South-

ern African Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC), said the civilised community in general and the people committed to the struggle for social justice in particular, were fast running out of words.

He added that resistance to apartheid was growing by the day and that hollow reforms, however well meant, will never persuade the people to accept the status quo. The UDF detained leaders and all progressive leaders, he added, were persecuted for their opposition to apartheid.

"We see this as an attempt by the State to ensure that the New Zealand rugby tour goes ahead, despite



CHIEF GATSHA BUTHELEZI

PFP Slams Chief Buthelezi

THE Progressive Federal Party Member of Parliament for Albany, Mr Errol Moorcroft, has attacked Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, for accusing the party of "naked racism" and

thereby giving the Government ammunition to use against the PFP in the upcoming debate on the Uitenhage shootings. Mr Moorcroft was responding to the Kwazulu chief minister's

condemnation of the PFP's report on the Uitenhage incident, compiled by Mr Moorcroft and signed by six PFP MPs. Last week Chief Buthelezi dismissed

as "naked racism" the report's suggestion that the Government had exploited ethnic rivalries by sending Zulu police to Langata to curb Xhosa unrest. He had main-

tained that the report's contention that ethnic differences divided blacks any more than they did whites was "filthy Nationalist propaganda". In a letter to Chief

Buthelezi, which the chief minister read out in the Kwazulu Legislative Assembly on Monday night, Mr Moorcroft said the attack on the PFP was "intemperate, unjustified and offensive".

Rejection

There was nothing worse than "a racist masquerading as a liberal", he concluded. "There was nothing worse than a racist masquerading as a liberal", he concluded.

Chief Buthelezi said he objected to the "arrogant" way in which Mr Moorcroft had written and said the letter should be treated with the "contempt it deserved".

Chief Buthelezi said he objected to the "arrogant" way in which Mr Moorcroft had written and said the letter should be treated with the "contempt it deserved".

After reading the letter, Chief Buthelezi said it was "balderdash" for the PFP to claim it was he who was giving the Government ammunition to use against the PFP.

He went on to say that Chief Buthelezi's remarks would be "seized upon with joy by the Government during the debate on the Uitenhage killings".

He denied that his report suggested Zulu detachments had gone to Uitenhage to "shoot, kill and maim" non-Zulus and challenged Chief Buthelezi to substantiate his claim.

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"My opposition to and rejection of racism and apartheid in all its guises has never before been in question", said Mr Moorcroft.

Joy

Mr Moorcroft said as "naked racism" the report's suggestion that the Government had exploited ethnic rivalries by sending Zulu police to Langata to curb Xhosa unrest. He had main-

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"My opposition to and rejection of racism and apartheid in all its guises has never before been in question", said Mr Moorcroft.

Three detained 'under security legislation'

Police swoop on top UDF men

NM AT 24/4/85

11A
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Mercury Reporter

UNITED Democratic Front publicity secretary Patrick 'Terror' Lekota and two other UDF activists were detained in a police swoop yesterday.

Mr Lekota was detained at Port Elizabeth's H F Verwoerd Airport on arrival there on a flight from Durban yesterday morning.

UDF general secretary Popo Molefe, who was also to have flown to Port Elizabeth where UDF leaders were to have met with trade union officials, was detained at Jan Smuts Airport in Johannesburg.

Another UDF member, Mr Moses Chikane, was taken from his home in Johannesburg.

The detentions, 'under security legislation', have been confirmed by the S A P public relations division in Pretoria.

A statement released by the division said: 'Investigations have been instituted as to their involvement in cases under investigation, which are with the Attor-

ney-General, and which arose from the unrest in the Vaal Triangle in August and September last year.'

The detentions follow a scathing attack on the UDF by President Botha in Parliament last week in which the organisation was accused of being an internal arm of the ANC and committed to bringing about confrontation and violence.

UDF spokesmen have said the organisation's plans to oppose the planned New Zealand rugby tour would not be stopped by the detentions.

Sapa reports that according to a witness three security policemen, who were waiting for Mr Lekota in the H F Verwoerd Airport terminal building, told Mr Lekota he was being detained on instructions from Johannesburg.

It is understood that he was later driven to John Vorster Square in Johannesburg.

A UDF spokesman in Durban, Mr Lechesa Tsenoli, condemned the detentions as a 'mindless act' which would only add fuel to the already volatile situation in the country.

'If they are calculated to make way for puppet leaders they are bound to fail. There is no way community councillors, Bantustan leaders and tricameral stooges are going to gain any more acceptance from our communities than they have.'

'This action, like the treason charges against the UDF leadership, demonstrates this Government's insincerity when it says it is committed to dialogue.'

Mr Molefe and Mr Lekota were among 15 detainees released on December 10 last year after being held under section 28 of the Internal Security Act.

At least 10 of the others face a major treason trial set for the middle of this year.

'No finding on credibility' of ambulancemen

UITENHAGE—Three ambulancemen had been dismissed partly because they had 'twisted' evidence before the Kanne-meyer Commission of Inquiry, the secretary of the Dias Divisional Council, Mr Nigel Anderson, said yesterday.

He told the commission he was unable to give an assurance that further ambulancemen called would not be prejudiced by their evidence.

'If it's a disservice to my council, I can't (give the assurance),' he said.

Mr Justice Donald

ings on the credibility of the witnesses, Mr Joseph Berry, Mr Dennis Barlow and Mr Michael Goqo.

Damage 'of a very serious nature' had been done by the dismissals and the Judge advised Mr Anderson to point out to his council's legal advisers the proclamation in terms of which the commission had been established.

They should especially take note of the rules regarding prejudging or anticipation of the commission's findings.

before the commission that they should tell only the truth.

However, Mr Anderson said, allegations had been made before the commission that his three most senior ambulance service officials had told their men to hide facts.

'This was a twisting of the truth and in no way could I allow this disrespect to continue,' he said.

He denied that he was anticipating the commission's findings.

Yesterday in Parliament

Botha 'president of all people'

NM 24/4/85

CAPE TOWN—All the groups in South Africa looked to President Botha as their president, Mr Pat Poovalingam (Solidarity Reservoir Hills) said.

Botha took office had come about, he believed, because of much soul-searching and examination of the past on the part of the Afrikaner who had dominated the white

made, I personally believe, was the announcement that freehold title would be extended to blacks.

as the coloureds and Indians had been until recently and blacks still were, to a large extent.

a part in the government of the country, there can be no acquiescence, no consent — only continued tyrannical subjection.

He spoke on the State President's Budget vote and said Mr Botha was the first State President in the history of South Africa who was president of all its peoples.

ongarchy which ruled the country. I do not believe it is a result of just international pressure or a result of internal unrest.

It was not the imminent repeal of the Mixed Marriages Act and Section 16 of the Immorality Act that was so important, but that a black's South African citizenship will not disappear along with the independence of some airy-fairy homeland that he has never seen.

Democracy
It could be governed by the type of acquiescence prevailing in countries such as Kenya, Zambia, Pakistan and Indo China, or the type of non-democracy of India.

There was a model which could be looked at which would draw the urban blacks into a fourth chamber and involve the rural blacks in their national states in a quasi-federal structure.

He was the leader of a party and a government but over-arching this he was leading the greater South Africa and was looked up to by all.

Momentous
The Afrikaner could just as easily have established a fascist republic, Mr Poovalingam said.

'This requires courage and statesmanship.'

'Classical democracy may not be possible in South Africa for a long time, but that does not mean we cannot have a one-man-one-vote situation,' he said.

'I would like to see an American-style president who does not have to appoint elected representatives to his Cabinet so that we can eliminate this costly triplication of ministers we have today.' — (Sapa)

The changes that had come about since Mr

'The most momentous change that has been

But this was not enough. The country could be governed by tyrannical subjection just

'Unless the blacks play

Women stand up to be counted

Black women in this country experience the worst kind of oppression and are the least considered when it comes to basic human rights.

Over and above the oppression experienced by their menfolk, black women are also faced with sexism which is why they believe that nobody, besides them, can do much about the problem.

This is one of the reasons why the Federation of Transvaal Women (Fedtraw) an affiliate of the Federation of South African Women (Fed-saw), was launched last year.

Sister Barnard is at the helm

By SELLO RABOTHATA

The SOWETAN learnt this, and many more, from Fedtraw's first president, Sister Barnard Ncube, who added that women have to understand that they need a united body to realise their aspirations and goals. The organisation is also affiliated to the United Democratic Front (UDF).

Sister Barnard Ncube, who has been involved in community work and has had numerous

brushes with the law, takes everything in her stride. No work is too much for her when it involves anything to do with the community and its problems. She is also a member of the Kagiso Residents Organisation (KRO) and several others.

What could have motivated this woman to be involved in such energy sapping and "dangerous" a field? One could ask. Believe it or not it is her belief in the Bible.

"One finds that if one trusts enough in God then He lays the foundation and commitment of bringing about justice and freedom to the people," she said.

Sister Barnard said: "God is against capitalism, its methods, its results and its spirit. It is revolutionary against the people's rights. Our priority is to work to-

wards the needs of all people who are affected by the oppression brought about by the whole system."

She said Fedtraw was launched because they realised that Fed-saw did not have its own constituency in the Transvaal. Its aim is to mobilise women and to be a loud voice in the provinces local and regional issues. It is composed of 20 women's organisations in the province and its power lies at the local levels.

Sister Barnard said: "We deal with everyday matters that affect us as women, as well as community problems such as rents, health, schools, and many more that we are faced with."

Relevant

"This is one of the reasons we have organisations like the Driefontein Women's Group, Soweto Women's Group and all others in areas that are relevant and functioning as non-Government organisations."

She said on the organisation's achievements



FEDTRAW PRESIDENT: Sister Barnard Ncube motivated by the Bible.

and problems, there was not much to say. Her confrontations with police are "part and parcel of what we are as long as we are involved in non-Government work."

The body is interested in motherhood and no woman is exempted, even Manyano groups are welcomed. They are not accepted as individ-

uals but as a group.

Sister Barnard works at the St Mary's Convent in Kagiso 1. She is soft-spoken but very aggressive towards her work. She sees herself as a servant of God and because of her belief in him, foresees no problems in the organisation's struggle towards achieving its goals.

Slabbert hits back after KwaZulu Assembly 'insults'

African Affairs Correspondent

ULUNDI—The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, says he has no intention of being insulted as a 'sick, white liberal punchbag' by members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly because of one finding in a PFP report on the Uitenhage shootings of March 22.

Dr Slabbert was replying in a private letter to criticism by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, of the report which maintained, *inter alia*, that there was 'tremendous resentment among the local Xhosas at the fact that "Gatsha's impi's" or the "Shaka's" as they were called, were being used against them'.

Chief Buthelezi read the contents of the letter to the Assembly yesterday. He said he was releasing the contents because he had suggested a debate on a previous reply on the issue from Mr Errol Moorcroft, PFP MP for Albany.

Dr Slabbert said the finding concerning 'Gatsha's impi's' was not remotely attributable to the attitude, policy or principles of the PFP.

Rejected

It was regrettable if the PFP report had been used in an attempt to discredit the KwaZulu Chief Minister, he said.

But he rejected with 'unqualified contempt' that it

was the deliberate or inadvertent intention to report so that credence be given to the 'slander' that Zulu detachments of police had gone to Uitenhage to 'shoot, kill and maim non-Zulus', as Chief Buthelezi had claimed.

'Our report refers to terms that are slanderous. But that is not tantamount to giving credibility to the slander,' Dr Slabbert said.

Referring to an invitation from Chief Buthelezi to him to address the Legislative Assembly, the PFP leader said it was 'palpably untrue' that he had avoided talking to the Assembly.

Dr Slabbert said the Chief Minister had indicated that it would be convenient for him to address the Assembly on May 27. However, he was scheduled to participate in a debate in Parliament on that day.

'If it had been possible, I would have been at a loss to understand what purpose this would serve,' he said.

Dr Slabbert said Chief Buthelezi had seen fit to develop a 'psycho-political theory' about himself and his party after 15 years of friendship.

'I am at a total loss to understand this,' he declared.

Dr Slabbert said he detected a 'disguised threat' behind this public attack.

The PFP leader asked whether Chief Buthelezi still wished to have a private meeting with him at Ulundi on May 25, and why.

'I do not have to come to Ulundi to prove my *bona fides* nor do I need to ingratiate myself with anyone in order to be a good "whitey",' he said.

Chief Buthelezi said in reply that he still stood by what he had said about the PFP findings, especially their constituting what was said about the Zulus as part of the official report.

He said it was up to the PFP leader to decide whether he should come to see him at Ulundi.

Chief Buthelezi said Dr Slabbert had factions in his party, and he sympathised with him. He, too, had factions in Inkatha.

The Chief Minister said the sons of Dr Alex Boraine and Mr Ray Swart, both MP's of the PFP, had denigrated him in public.

Not one of his children would say that type of thing about Dr Slabbert.

'They know in what esteem I hold him,' Chief Buthelezi said.

(11A) NIA 24/4/85 (20410)

Buthelezi's attack was unjustified says Prog MP

African Affairs
Correspondent

ULUNDI—The Progressive Federal Party's MP for Albany, Mr Errol Moorcroft, says the attack made on him in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly two weeks ago by

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was 'intemperate, unjustified and offensive'.

Chief Buthelezi said a report compiled by Mr Moorcroft on the Uitenhage shootings of March 22 gave credence to the 'slander' against KwaZulu that Zulu detachments of police had gone to Uitenhage to 'shoot, kill and maim non-Zulus'.

Mr Moorcroft said in a letter read out in the Assembly yesterday that he categorically denied that his report suggested this in any way and challenged the KwaZulu

Chief Minister to substantiate his claim.

'What I do claim is that there is deep resentment in the townships at the use of detachments of Zulu police. This can easily be verified by any member of your Cabinet who might care to visit these townships,' he wrote.

He alleged that the terms 'Gatsha's impi's' and 'Shaka's' had not been coined by him but were in common usage in the townships and reflected the resentment of the people.

Le Grange hits at UDF as 3 top men detained

Mail Reporters

THE Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, yesterday made a blistering attack on the United Democratic Front, only hours after the detention of three UDF leaders.

Those detained were Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, the UDF publicity secretary, Mr Popo Molefe, the UDF national general secretary, and Mr Moss Chikane, a prominent UDF activist.

Police say the men have been linked to investigations into last year's unrest in the Vaal Triangle.

However, a UDF spokesman immediately accused the State of detaining the three in an attempt "to ensure that the New Zealand rugby tour goes ahead".

The UDF spokesman accused the New Zealand Rugby Union and all those who welcomed their decision to come to South Africa as "accomplices in this act".

All are believed to be held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, which allows for indefinite detention, although this has not been confirmed.

Mr Le Grange, addressing the Afrikaanse Sakekamer in Cape Town, said that before the banning of the African National Congress, more than 90% of present UDF officials were either members of the South African Communist Party, the Congress of Democrats, the South African Congress of Trade Unions, the former communist Con-

gress Alliance, the Natal Indian Congress or the Transvaal Indian Congress.

He claimed that with the exception of the alliance between the SA Communist Party and the ANC, the UDF was the single most important factor responsible for the current nationwide unrest.

There could be "no doubt about the ANC-UDF situation", he added.

Mr Lekota was detained at the airport in Port Elizabeth. Mr Molefe's detention became known when he failed to arrive in Port Elizabeth yesterday morning and it is believed he was detained while driving to Jan Smuts Airport on his way to Port Elizabeth. Mr Chikane was picked up at his house in Pretoria.

A police spokesman said: "Investigations are being conducted into the three detainees' involvement in cases already investigated and which are at present with the Attorney-General".

In a statement, the UDF said opposition to the New Zealand rugby tour would not be stopped by detentions and harassment.

The spokesman added that the UDF believed the State President's attempts a few days ago to link the UDF with banned organisations was "preparation for what has happened this morning".

Mr Le Grange quoted from two 1983 issues of the banned ANC youth journal, "Dawn" to back his claims of UDF-ANC collaboration.

Tutu: it's not the agitators

11A ~~Star~~ 24/4/85
By Susan Fleming

The evil system of apartheid, and not agitators, is the cause of unrest in South Africa, said the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg yesterday.

Bishop Desmond Tutu told a Wits University alumni luncheon that many white people believed unrest was a result of agitators inspired by the African National Congress or the South African Communist Party.

"Those who have not been brainwashed," he said, "will realise that it is caused by features of apartheid such as the Bantu education system.

"Who needs an agitator to say Bantu education is inferior when it was intended to be inferior?"

Bishop Tutu said the Government was panicking and making ad hoc decisions.

He added that the Min-

ister of Co-operation, Development and Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, had initially said he would not tolerate Crossroads, but later declared that Crossroads would be upgraded for the people living there.

Bishop Tutu asked: "If that was the Government's intention then why did 18 people have to die in Crossroads?"

Of recent reforms he said: "All that is happening is a return to the status quo which existed before the Government came into power in 1948.

"There has been so much excitement because discriminatory steps have been removed, but who put them there in the first place?"

He added that a national convention should be

called where authentic leaders could sit together and discuss South Africa's problems and the future.

What was happening in the townships would fill many people with revulsion, he said.

"But we must remember that the custodians of the law are often the most blatant law-breakers."

Bishop Tutu said the new constitution was unashamedly based on ethnicity and membership had been determined by race and nothing else.

"In the constitution which we are supposed to be happy with," he added, "we are told to expect recognition of our own political power in the bantustans.

"We are turned into aliens in the land of our birth."

CAPE TIMES
25/4/85

11A ~~(2)~~ ~~(3)~~



Tambo in sanctions meetings

Own Correspondent

NEW YORK. — African National Congress president Mr Oliver Tambo yesterday briefed congressional aides at the start of a week-long visit keyed to the bid to impose economic sanctions against South Africa.

Senator Edward Kennedy and Congressman William Grey — sponsors of sanctions bills — helped arrange the breakfast meeting.

The ANC chief lunched with the editorial board of the Washington Post and later addressed the congressional black caucus.

Mr Tambo's arrival was delayed because of visa difficulties, described by one closely involved source as "tremendous". In particular, the delay foiled the ANC's plan for him to address last weekend's Washington demonstrations.

LENG EIVS EIVS

Death note as home is petrol-bombed

Argus 25/4/81

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG.— The home of a Tembisa youth leader was petrol-bombed today, and the attackers left a note threatening him with death.

The family car was gutted in the attack and a window in a bedroom was shattered by a petrol bomb, which set alight the curtains.

A note written in Zulu was pushed under the front door. It read: "We'll kill you. You are a dog."

"It happened about 2.30am and was all over in about five minutes," said the youth leader, Mr Greg Thulare.

Five people had been sleeping in the bedroom which was bombed, he added. Luckily, the weapon had been stopped by the curtains.

Two more petrol bombs were found near the gutted car, where attackers had also left a container of petrol.

Mr Thulare is branch organiser/secretary in Tembisa for the Congress of South African Students.

He was jailed for several weeks and was granted bail less than a month ago. All charges against him, except one relating to the slashing of car tyres, were dropped.

Pupils in Tembisa staged protests against his jailing.

Meanwhile a tense quiet reigned in Alexandra township today after yesterday's violence in which about 700 protest marchers went on the rampage, stoning and setting alight three vehicles and a building.

A police spokesman said police and military patrols were on standby in the township.

Seven people were arrested yesterday and will face charges of public violence.

Reports that about 200 people were arrested yesterday were denied.

An ambulance spokesman said a man had received treatment for a minor head wound after a brick hit him on the head.

No other injuries were reported.

PW 'didn't
listen to
Mandela

(CIA) Spai
25/4/85

The State President's repeated offer of conditional freedom for jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela shows he has not listened to Mandela's previous reply, says the Release Mandela Committee.

"Mandela and the people demanded that President Botha and his Government should first renounce violence," said an RMC statement released yesterday.

This implied the renunciation of apartheid because it was a system which was violent in character.

The RMC spelled out immediate steps which it felt would help achieve peaceful solution to the conflict in South Africa.

These included the release of death row prisoner Ben Moloise and all those detained or jailed for political reasons, lifting of bans on all political organisations and individuals, and discarding of the present constitution.

Santambank's

Washington Post interviews ANC leader

Oliver Tambo ready to talk to SA leaders

By Neil Lurssen,
The Star Bureau

Washington
The *Washington Post* reports today that Mr Oliver Tambo, head of the African National Congress, is prepared to meet leaders of the South African Government to discuss negotiating a new constitution to extend democracy to blacks.

Mr Tambo did not mention several pre-conditions he previously stipulated as essential before his organisation would be willing to bargain with white officials, the newspaper said.

The ANC leader is in the United States to drum up support for his cause and is visiting Washington this week.

The newspaper article indicated that South Africans who opposed the Government deeply appreciated the anti-apartheid demonstrations throughout the US and the various Congressional moves to impose economic sanctions on South Africa.

Strongest

"He appeared designed to portray his organisation as moderate and flexible and to increase pressure on Congress to adopt the strongest possible set of sanctions," reporter Glenn Frankel wrote of Mr Tambo.

Whites would have a significant role to play in a democratic, non-racial South Africa — and would not be run out of the country, Frankel wrote.

"He also indicated his group might be willing to discuss and negotiate specific mechanisms to protect white rights," the report added.

Violence

A Reuter report of the interview said Mr Tambo also said he saw little hope of his offer being accepted by Pretoria, because rejection of violence by the ANC was one of its preconditions for talks.

He said the ANC, founded in 1912 but outlawed in South Africa in 1960, could not renounce the use of force because armed struggle was one of several tools necessary to force Pretoria to abandon apartheid.

Mr Tambo predicted that violence in South Africa would continue to grow until the Government became convinced that apartheid was "unworkable".

Breytenbach no longer regards himself an exile

South African poet Breyten Breytenbach has told audiences on a recent visit to the United States that any guilt he has felt as a white South African has been "burned" out of him by his imprisonment.

Mr Breytenbach (45), who was found guilty of terrorism in 1975 and served seven years of a nine-year sentence, much of it in solitary confinement in Pretoria and Cape Town maximum-security prisons, before being released in 1983, was addressing audiences to promote his book "White Albino".

Accompanied by his Vietnamese-born wife, Yolande, he was a guest of the University of California in Los Angeles, lecturing and reading from his works and later speaking privately, talking about his book, his imprisonment and the future of South

The South African poet has impressed American audiences with his great sense of compassion about his fellow countrymen of all races, writes Ramsay Milne of The Star's New York Bureau.

Africa as he sees it.

He has been harsh in his judgments of South Africa, which he describes as a "a world of madness" that will probably not change without bloodshed.

But he has impressed his audiences with his great sense of compassion about South Africans of all races, saying that he now recognises the humanity of "the other guy."

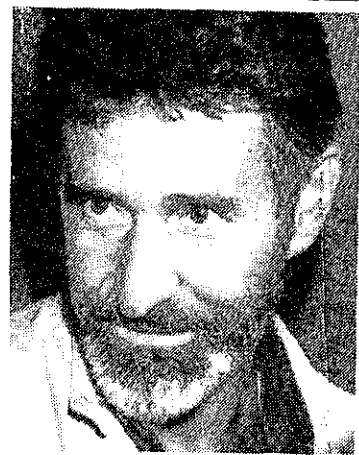
As an Afrikaner, he says his use of the Afrikaans language as a poet and writer is a source of both pride and humiliation to many of his white countrymen, some of whom, he says, feel he has turned what is uniquely

theirs against them.

He says that if he is a "traitor" to his people, his elder brother, whom he calls "my brother John Wayne", is a hero, a general in the South African Army, commander of its anti-guerilla unit. They see each other as dangerous enemies, he says, but he feels the "cement of affection" that has persisted for a long time in his family despite the tensions.

And yes, he says, he thinks he and his brother still love each other.

"Love is like language... you love some people no matter how horrible they may be, the way



Breytenbach... "prison was a maiming experience".

you love a language, however much it's been misused."

Mr Breytenbach no longer sees himself as an exile. "I consider myself an African of South African origin, using Afrikaans as my first language and continuing my life elsewhere in Europe, accepting that that peculiar South African experience will always be there in my mind, colouring my way of life, colouring my perceptions."

He says that prison was for him a "maiming, tainting experience". He hallucinated, he despaired, he broke. This left him with what he refers to as "the ruins of my mind".

He is not optimistic about South Africa's future. "Time, you might say, is black."

Mr Breytenbach says he will probably never again be involved in the clandestine political movement that led to his book, "if for no other reason than that I've shot my anonymity".

A political juggler and survivor

MIKE ROBERTSON of the Political Staff assesses the Parliamentary performance of the only Indian member of President P W Botha's Cabinet

PRESIDENT P W Botha went to the House of Delegates this week and was feted from every quarter.

Such was the warmth of the reception given to him in the chamber where shrill denunciations of the Government are normally commonplace, that Mr Botha himself remarked: "At some moments I felt I was sitting in my own party caucus."

Not least among those who lauded him was the National People's Party leader, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, who called Mr Botha "the most potent force for reform that has yet appeared from within the establishment."

Like his coloured Cabinet colleague, the Reverend Allan Hendrickse, Mr Rajbansi finds himself in the difficult position of being a member of Mr Botha's Cabinet and the leader of a party with policies which differ dramatically from those of the Government.

But if Mr Hendrickse is seen as a master of the political tightrope in handling this dilemma, Mr Rajbansi simply gives the impression of being a juggler with too many balls in the air.

He leads a party with members whose political views range from marginally to the right of the United Democratic Front to others who, but for the colour of their skin, could have been National Party members.

Given this and the tenuous balance of power in the House of Delegates, much of Mr Rajbansi's energies in past months have been devoted to retaining power and keeping his party members in line.

Having promised during last year's elections to use the system to dismantle apartheid his attacks on grand apartheid have been muted.

When issues like the Group Areas Act, influx control and resettlement have come under discussion, his contributions have paled almost into insignificance when compared to those of others in his party.

The opposition party, Solidarity, has been openly courting Kwa Zulu's Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, who by virtue of his vast support and occasional references to the 1949 rioting by Zulus against Indians, is an ever present factor in Indian political deliberations.



Mr Amichand Rajbansi

In his speech in the debate on the State President's vote, Mr Rajbansi responded to this by referring to the Buthelezi report recommendation that Natal get special treatment.

However, there was no open support for this recommendation which as a signatory of the Buthelezi Commission report he has already endorsed.

Instead he said: "There may be a time when we will be forced to call the bluff of the self-appointed leaders (referring to the UDF which he has accused of harming relations between Indians and Zulus) if student leaders clearly indicate to us to negotiate the future of Natal on the basis of the Buthelezi Commission report."

One reason for his rather undistinguished performance in debates on national issues is that he is essentially an ethnic politician, who graduated to the national arena from local affairs committees and the South African Indian Council.

Several observers expressed surprise that Mr Rajbansi threatened to resign from the main Cabinet over a parochial issue like the second access road to Chatsworth in Durban at a time when the furor over the Uitenhage shootings was at its height.

But, it is on the favourable resolution of issues like this that he has pitted his political future.

His party received the support of about only 10 percent of the Indian community in last year's elections and in order to break the stranglehold which groups like the Natal Indian Congress have on the vast majority of the community, he has continually stressed the need get a better deal on "bread and butter issues".

He stressed this in the debate on the State Presidents vote:

"There is great expectation in South Africa especially in our community to deliver goods in respect of bread and butter issues. In order to enable us to justify our participation, additional financial allocation to this House is of paramount importance so that we may be able to provide with distinction education, housing, health and social services on a broader scale."

Mr Rajbansi is above all a political survivor.

He has been called the "master of the politics of patronage" and can be expected to continue concentrating on "own affairs" and getting a better deal for his community.

In doing this, even if no significant progress is made in dismantling grand apartheid, he will ensure his survival as leader in the House of Delegates.

ARGUS 25/4/88 (11A)

Decision to refuse bail is set aside

Cape Times

25/1/85

11A

Own Correspondent
MARITZBURG. — A full Bench of the Supreme Court here yesterday set aside a decision by a Durban magistrate to refuse bail to eight United Democratic Front supporters due to face charges of treason. The matter has been sent back to the lower court.

In a judgment handed down, Mr Justice Friedman, with Mr Justice Booysen and Mr Justice Galgut concurring, ordered that the bail application be remitted to the magistrate to be dealt with afresh.

Endanger

This does not mean that the appellants, Mr Mewa Ramgobin and seven others, will automatically be granted bail.

Magistrate Mr X Odenaal refused the eight supporters bail on the grounds that his hands were bound by an order made by the Attorney-General of Natal, Mr Mike Maber, in terms of the Internal Security Act.

In terms of the Internal Security Act Section 30 (1), the Attorney-General is entitled to refuse bail if the granting of bail would endanger the security of the State and the maintenance of law and order.

Mr Justice Friedman said in the 20-page judgment that it was traditionally the role of the court to decide on bail applications.

'Inroads'

"It is only through the courts exercising their powers, fearlessly and impartially, that a proper balance can be achieved between the interest of the individual's liberty and the interest of the State in bringing alleged wrong-doers to justice."

He said the courts in this country exercised their powers entirely free from any pressure or influence from the State, the legislature or the executive branch of the government.

Referring to the right of the Attorney-General to refuse to allow the granting of bail in terms of the Internal Security

Act, the judge said these sections constituted "serious inroads into the traditional role of the courts".

Why the legislature should have found it necessary to place in the hands of the Attorney-General a power which ought properly to repose in the courts was not clear.

Unlike the courts, he did not exercise his powers free of executive control.

In terms of the Criminal Procedure Act the Attorney-General exercised his authority subject to the control of the minister, he said.

Mr Justice Friedman added that he did not intend by his remarks to reflect upon the integrity of the Attorney-General in this case.

Treason

Setting aside the magistrate's order, the judge said that before the Attorney-General could be entitled to make an order in terms of Section 30 of the Internal Security Act it would have to be proved that each of the appellants had been arrested "upon a charge of having committed any offence in terms of Schedule 3".

Treason is one of the offences referred to in Schedule 3 and contraventions of certain specific sections of the Internal Security Act.

The judge said the documents before the court — including the warrants of arrest — "established no more nor less than that the appellants had been arrested for the offences of treason and a contravention of an unspecified section of the Internal Security Act".

Mr Justice Friedman said the warrants of arrest did not prove there had been a decision to charge any of the appellants with the offences referred to in the warrants and that they had therefore been arrested "upon a charge of treason" within the meaning of Section 30 (1) of the Internal Security Act.

He said this aspect of the case had not been canvassed in the magistrate's court since it was not raised there.

University of North closes after unrest

Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. —
The University of the
North (Turfloop) was yes-
terday closed until May
13.

The closure follows a
week of unrest at the uni-
versity which left at least
eight people injured. In
one incident acid was
thrown at a lecturer, se-
riously injuring him.

Last weekend mem-
bers of the Azanian Peo-

ples Organization
(Azapo) clashed with
members of the United
Democratic Front (UDF)
and the Azanian Stu-
dents Movement
(Azasm). A women's resi-
dence was damaged
when a crowd of 500
broke the windows. Mr
Lybon Mabasa, former
president of Azapo, and
Mr Thami Mcerwa, vice-
president of Azasm, had
sought refuge there.

On Tuesday, Professor
Paul van Warmelo, who
joined the university's
faculty of law earlier this
year, was seriously in-
jured when a group of
students allegedly threw
acid at him while he was
on his way to a class.

The dean of the faculty,
Professor Pieter du Ples-
sis, immediately sus-
pended all lectures in
the department, as he
was worried about the
safety of his staff.

These classes will not
resume until an inquiry,
ordered by the rector,
Professor P Mokgokong,
has been completed.

Police investigations
are continuing.



Mrs FLORENCE Mahono with her son Fundo.

CHL Times 2/4/85

Woman quits council system

Staff Reporter

A PROMINENT participant in the community council system in New Crossroads yesterday announced her resignation.

She is Mrs Florence Mahono of 1680 David Street, New Crossroads, who has served as a member of the Ward 7 ward committee operating under Mr Herbert Venfolo for the past 14 months.

In an interview at the Nyanga home of veteran community leader Mr Oscar Mpetha, she said she was resigning as she had realized the community did not support the community council system.

She now intended joining organizations "supported by the majority of the people".

Mrs Mahono, a mother of five, said her house had been stoned during the disturbances in the township earlier this year and she had repeatedly been threatened that action would be taken against her if she did not resign.

Mrs Mahono acknowledged that she feared she would be attacked if she remained a committee member. However, she denied that she was being forced to resign against her will.

"All these events have made me realize that the people are opposed to the council. Wherever I went, people only looked at me with suspicion. Now, I rather want to join the people," she said.

New deal has entrenched separate education — Sonn

ARG 43 25/4/85 (119)

Staff Reporter

THE new constitutional dispensation — with separate education as one of its cornerstones — has entrenched apartheid education more deeply than before, says Mr Franklin Sonn, president of the Cape Teachers' Professional Association.

At a panel discussion on education and the constitution organised by the South African Teachers' Association yesterday Mr Sonn said: "The Government apparently believes

that separate can be equal, while we believe that separation and equality are a contradiction in terms."

Besides the ridiculousness in the proliferation of education ministers, it was almost impossible to grasp "who does what and who has a say over what", he said.

"Education is the one vehicle which is best placed to free our society from racism and bigotry."

Mr Carter Ebrahim, Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives, outlined his approach to education and his "justification for being where I am".

"The people now have a representative," he said.

Before equality in education could be achieved the parts would have to reach a level of parity. Whites and Indians could no longer look forward to the same level of education as before.

PFP 'has no links with the UDF'

25/4/85

11A

~~11A~~

By KIN BENTLEY

THE Progressive Federal Party, in response to a challenge from the National Party, has denied any links with the United Democratic Front.

The party's candidate in the Newton Park by-election, Mr Izak Smuts, made the denial in response to a challenge from the NP candidates, Mr Sakkie Louw and Mr Van Ginkel Venter, on the PFP's "association" with the UDF.

Mr Smuts said the UDF was a "conglomerate of associations which has chosen to operate outside the constitutional mechanisms available in South Africa".

"The PFP is a registered political party operating within and participating in the constitutional structure of the country," he said.

"There is obviously no association between the two."

The NP candidates also asked whether Mr Smuts

agreed with Mr Mike Tarr, PFP spokesman on sport, "that the UDF should be allowed to demonstrate at airports and rugby fields during the coming All Black tour to South Africa".

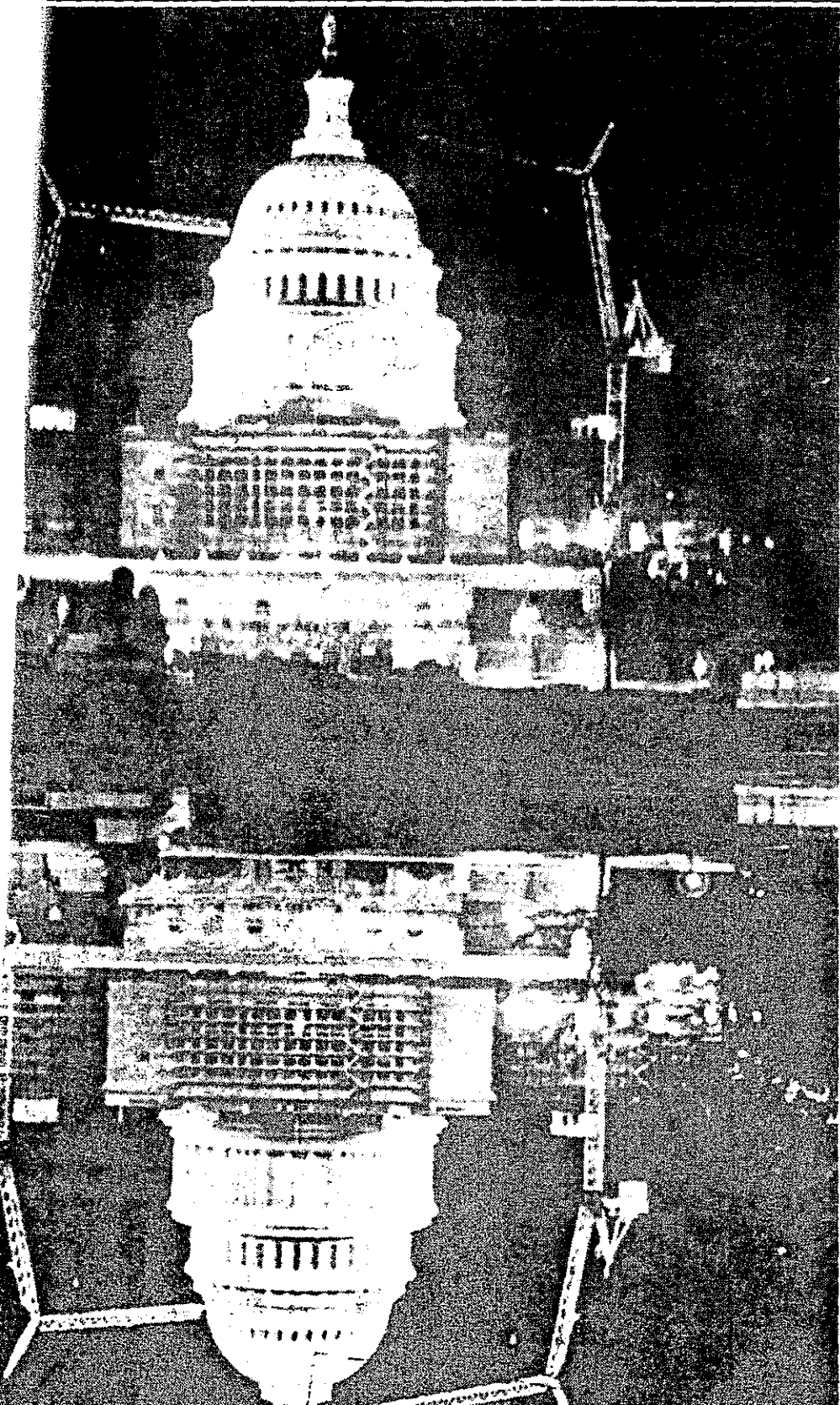
Mr Smuts said he stood by a South African Police statement reported in the Press today which said that the police would not enforce a "blanket ban" on protest and "therefore don't regard it as a threat".

He asked whether Mr Louw agreed with this assessment — "or is he accusing the police of being soft on security"?

The PFP, he said, would oppose any illegal action "as strongly as the NP".

The NP's challenges arose after Mr Smuts questioned whether the two candidates were members of the Afrikaner Broederbond. They said they were not.

(Report by Kin Bentley, 19 Baakens Street, Port Elizabeth.)



Undergoing a major exterior facelift, is captured at night by a mirror reflection in the Capitol

Picture: REUTERS

Fosatu attacks detentions of UDF 3

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RDM 25/4/85

By STEVEN FRIEDMAN
Labour Correspondent

AN UNPRECEDENTED meeting between the executives of the Federation of SA Trade Unions (Fosatu) and the United Democratic Front was cancelled this week after police detained key UDF leaders.

In a statement to Sapa yesterday, Fosatu sharply attacked the detentions and announced that it had joined the growing opposition by black groups to the planned All Blacks rugby tour of South Africa.

Fosatu, like some key emerging unions, has refused to join the UDF and there has been tension between it and UDF affiliates in the Eastern Cape. The decision to hold a joint executive meeting was, therefore, a significant step.

A statement by Fosatu said the meeting had been called to discuss "national issues of mutual concern" and was scheduled to be held on Tuesday — the day three leading UDF officials were detained.

Fosatu said it wished to express its "shock and utter dismay at the police action" and called on the authorities to release the detainees.

Plans to hold a meeting came as Fosatu unions were engaged in a vigorous debate on whether to co-operate with the UDF and its affiliates.

ANTON HARBUR reports that the UDF said in a statement yesterday the detention of three of its leading members this week was counter-productive and would only add fuel to an already volatile situation.

The UDF statement described the detentions as "mindless".

The three include two UDF leaders, Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota and Mr Popo Molefe. Also held is a UDF activist, Mr Moss Chikane.

"If they are calculated, amongst other things, to make way for puppet leaders, they are bound to fail. There is no way the community councillors, Bantustan leaders and the tricameral stooges are going to get any more acceptance from our communities than they have."

This measure would not ensure the law and order which the Government "sanctioniously claims it seeks to keep."

The Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee (Jodac), a UDF affiliate, said in a statement that the removal of popular and recognised leaders could only lead to an intensification of conflict.

It confirmed once again that the Government had no intention of defusing conflict, but "is rather intent on viciously silencing democratic and non-violent opposition", the Jodac statement said.

Azasm members claim assault

By ALI MPHAKI

FIVE members of the Azanian Students Movement (Azasm) were allegedly assaulted by people claimed to be members of the Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso), at the University of the North on Tuesday night.

One of the injured, Ntsirweni Mukhuba, was rushed to hospital with multiple stab wounds on the body and was admitted.

The other injured are Attie Luhlongwana, Sesi Balozi, who was also attacked on Sunday

when the rival organisations clashed, Sibongile Mazibuko and Oupa Moleko.

Sources close to The SOWETAN said Luhlongwana was fetched from her room at midnight and taken to the old SRC offices where she was made to chant the Freedom Charter slogans, before she was beaten up.

The Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu) said in a statement that this kind of action was denting the image of the struggle.

Afraid

"People are going to be afraid of attending political meetings because they might be attacked for having attended an Azaso or Azasm meeting.

"People are beginning to lose sight of the enemy while he (the enemy) rejoices when such actions take place. This must be stopped", the statement said.

The National Forum also condemned this action saying: "We view the conflict between opposing political tendencies in the black community with grave disquiet."

Court rules on UDF bail bid

THE Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court yesterday set aside the Attorney-General's certificates prohibiting bail for eight United Democratic Front members currently facing treason charges, lawyers acting for the accused said yesterday. *WINDON 25/4/85*

The application for bail by the eight people was heard by Judge Friedland, assisted by two other judges, who sent the certificates back to the magistrate who refused to grant bail.

This is the first time a court has set aside an Attorney-General's decision.

The eight, together with eight others, were remanded in custody last week after appearing in the Durban Regional Court on a charge of treason. They were remanded in the Durban Regional Court on a charge of treason. They were remanded pending the decision on their appeal against being refused bail.

The 16 were remanded in custody to April 25. Some of the accused have been in custody for four months.

LOVE ME TALK TO ME
RICHIE'S Love Me Baby
Ebony Tell Me
PATIENCE, DONKEYS & DOGS The Donkey Song 685
THE TONY TALKERS 498
COMM
NIGHT
COMMODORE Nightnight

PAC (11A)
cadres
sowetan
leave 25/4/85
Lesotho

TWENTY-FOUR members of the Pan Africanist Congress left Lesotho last night to take up educational placements in different institutions in Tanzania.

The PAC secretary for education, Mr Elliot Mfaha, said the transfer was a routine mission and would fulfil a promise made to the Lesotho Government recently that the PAC would do all in its power to ensure speedy and periodic removal of its members to other parts of Africa.

He said this did not signify an evacuation or pullout as has been said in some quarters.

The transfer of the PAC to other parts of Africa came after talks between the PAC and the Lesotho Government broke down after the shooting of six members of PAC by the Lesotho security forces in a sensitive border area with Transkei. — Sapa.

Judges overturn UDF bail finding

25/4/85 Mercury 25/4/85

ETA

11A

Pietermaritzburg Bureau

A FULL Bench of the Supreme Court sitting here yesterday set aside a decision by a Durban magistrate to refuse bail to eight UDF supporters due to face charges of treason and criticised a section of the Internal Security Act as 'making serious inroads into the traditional role of the Courts'.

In a reserved judgment, Mr Justice Friedman, with Mr Justice Booysen and Mr Justice Galgut concurring, ordered that the bail application be remitted to the Magistrate to deal with the matter afresh.

This did not mean that the appellants, Mr Mewa Ramgobin and seven others, would now automatically be granted bail.

Magistrate Mr X Odendaal had refused the eight men bail on the grounds that his hands were bound by an order made by the Attorney-General of Natal, Mr Mike Imber, in terms of the Internal Security Act.

Court's role

In terms of Section 30 (1) of that Act the Attorney-General is entitled to refuse bail if the granting of it would endanger the security of the State and the maintenance of law and order.

Mr Justice Friedman said in a 20-page judgment it was traditionally the role of the Court to decide bail applications.

It is right and proper that the Courts should exercise this power.

It is only through the Courts exercising their powers, fearlessly and impartially, that a proper balance can be achieved between the interest of the individual's liberty and the interest of the State in bringing alleged wrong-doers to justice.

Mr Justice Friedman said Courts in this country exercised their powers entirely free from any pressure or influence from the State, the legislature or the executive branch of the Government.

Referring to the right of

■ TURN TO PAGE 2

P.T.O.

Judges overturn UDF bail finding

■ FROM PAGE 1

the Attorney-General to refuse to allow the granting of bail in terms of the Internal Security Act, the Judge said these sections constituted 'serious inroads into the traditional role of the Courts'.

Why the legislature should have found it necessary to place in the hands of the Attorney-General a power which ought properly to repose in the Courts was not clear, he said.

Authority

'It is to me a complete anathema that an Attorney-General should be, at least in a manner of speaking, a judge in his own cause. He is not an independent officer; unlike the Courts, he does not exercise his powers free of executive control.'

In terms of the Criminal Procedure Act the Attorney-General exercises his authority subject to the control of the minister, he said.

Mr Justice Friedman said he did not intend by his remarks to reflect upon the integrity of the Attorney-General in this case.

Setting aside the Magistrate's order, he said that before the Attorney-General could be entitled to make an order in terms of Section 30 of the Internal Security Act it would have to be proved that each of the appellants had been arrested 'upon a charge of having committed any offence in terms of schedule 3'.

Treason is one of the offences referred to in schedule 3 and contraventions of certain specific sections of the Internal Security Act.

The Judge said the documents before the Court, including warrants of arrest, 'established no more nor less than that the appellants had been arrested for the offences of treason and a contravention of an unspecified section of the Internal Se-

curity Act'.

Mr Justice Friedman said the warrants of arrest did not prove there had been a decision to charge any of the appellants with the offences referred to in the warrants and that they had therefore been arrested 'upon a charge of treason' within the meaning of Section 30 (1) of the Internal Security Act.

This aspect of the case had not been canvassed in the magistrate's court since it was not raised there.

'Whilst therefore, the appeal must succeed, it seems to me that at the same time the Attorney-General should be afforded an opportunity of leading the necessary evidence, if he is able to do so.'

The Judge emphasised that this did not mean the appellants must necessarily be released on bail.

'What it does mean is that the Court and only the Court will then be called upon to decide the question of bail.'

It would be competent for the Attorney-General to oppose the granting of bail on the grounds that it would be contrary to the interests of the security of the State or the maintenance of law and order.

'He would then have to explain why he feared this to be the case.'

Mr Justice Booysen and Mr Justice Galgut agreed with Mr Justice Friedman's judgment but added they had reservations.

Appearing with Mr Ramgobin were Mr George Sewpershad, Mr MJ Naidoo, Dr Essop Jasat, Mr Aubrey Mokoena, Mr Curtis Nkondo, Mr Archibald Gumede and Paul David.

Wits degrees

JOHANNESBURG—A total of 128 degrees, 11 higher degrees and 80 post-graduate diplomas, will be conferred in the University of the Witwatersrand's Faculty of Law graduation ceremony tonight. — (Sapa)

KwaZulu-PFP feud rages

THE feud between the Progressive Federal Party and the Chief Minister of Kwa-Zulu continued this week, with PFP leader Dr F van Zyl Slabbert telling Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi he had "no intention of being in-

sulted as a sick white liberal punch bag."

In a confidential letter to Chief Buthelezi read out in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, the Opposition leader said that he rejected "with unqualified contempt" Chief Buthelezi's contention that the

PFP's report on the Uitenhage shooting was slanderous towards the Zulu people.

The report, signed by six PFP MPs, had said there was "tremendous resentment" among the Xhosas in Langa at the fact that Zulu police had been used against them.

Last week Chief Buthelezi accused the PFP of propagating "filthy nationalist propaganda" in suggesting that ethnic differences divided blacks any more than they did whites.

Dr van Zyl Slabbert stated in his letter that both the fact that there were Zulu police present at the Uitenhage shooting, and the fact that Langa residents had referred to the Zulu police as "Gatsha's impis", were beyond dispute.

It was also beyond dispute that the Zulu police had been used by the SAP to exploit rivalries between Xhosas and Zulus, he said.

Dr van Zyl Slabbert asked Chief Buthelezi whether it would serve any purpose to hold talks after his "public repudiation of me."

A meeting between the two leaders was planned for May 25.

After reading the letter, Chief Buthelezi said the decision to meet lay with Dr van Zyl Slabbert.

"No one is as accommodating as me," Chief Buthelezi said.

'Botha has failed to hear Mandela'

11A

By ANTON HARBER

IN repeating his offer of conditional freedom to Nelson Mandela, the State President, Mr P.W. Botha, had clearly not listened to Mandela's reply to the first offer, the Release Mandela Committee (RMC) said yesterday.

RDM 25/4/85
In a statement, a spokesman said the RMC was disturbed by the repeated offer.

Mr Botha repeated his offer to release Mandela, who has served 22 years of a life sentence, on the condition that he renounced violence.

The second offer was made in Parliament last

week.

"It is not for Mandela to renounce violence, but for Botha to renounce apartheid, which is violent in character. If Botha is so committed to peaceful solutions to SA's problems, then he should start listening to majority opinion," the RMC spokesman said.

He called on Mr Botha to allow political organisations legal existence.

"Only this will ensure that there is a peaceful solution to the current conflict. Whether there is further violence and bloodshed rests in the hands of President Botha and his Government," he said.

Fosatu-UDF meeting called off

By Sello Rabothata

A MEETING of the national executive committees of the Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu) and the United Democratic Front (UDF), which was to discuss national issues of mutual interest, had to be cancelled yesterday when three UDF officials were detained.

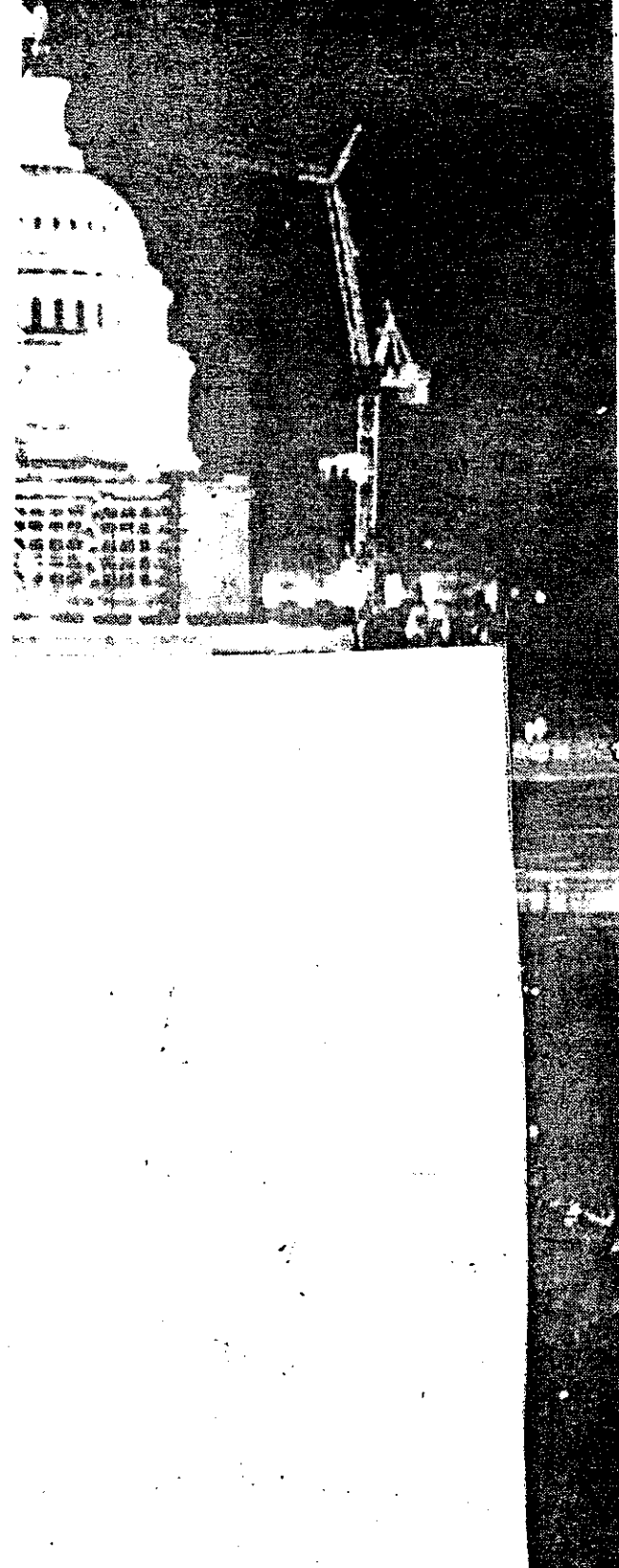
Mr Joe Foster, general secretary of Fosatu, said he wished to express the organisation's shock and utter dismay at the police action and calls on the authorities to release all those detained.

Fosatu's central committee also expressed its opposition to the proposed New Zealand Rugby tour and directed Mr Foster to inform New Zealand workers through their labour centre of the decision.

The three detained UDF officials are Mr Mosiuoca "Terror" Lekota, publicity secretary, Mr Simon Popo Molefe, general secretary and former Transvaal secretary Mr Moses Chikane. They are being held in connection with unrest in Transvaal townships last year.

A statement released by the UDF also viewed the detentions as an attempt by the State to ensure that the All Blacks tour goes ahead despite worldwide opposition by peace-loving democrats.

The UDF also held that the New Zealand Rugby Union "and all those that welcome its decision to tour this land of terror, are accomplices to this act."



Fosatu attacks detentions of UDF 3

By STEVEN FRIEDMAN
Labour Correspondent

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the Capito
wire: REUTER

PFP visits KwaZulu Legislative Assembly

Sowetan 26/4/85
~~11A~~ ~~11A~~ ~~11A~~

NATAL Progressive Federal Party leader, Mr Ray Swart made an unexpected appearance in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly public gallery yesterday.

Mr Swart is understood to be holding discussions with KwaZulu's chief minister, Chief Mongosuthu Buthelezi, over Chief Buthelezi's criticisms of the PFP report on the Uitenhage shootings.

Mr Swart, the PFP Member of Parliament for Berea, was one of the six MPs who signed a report which said the Xhosas in Langa township had resented Zulu police detachments being used against them.

The report, compiled by Mr Errol Moorcroft, MP for Albany, said the South African Police had exploited ethnic rivalries existing between Xhosas and

Zulus.

Last week, Chief Buthelezi dismissed as "naked racism" the report's implication that ethnic differences divided blacks any more than they did whites.

Welcoming Mr Swart to the Assembly yesterday, Chief Buthelezi said they had enjoyed a partnership and friendship lasting more than 30 years.

"Therefore it should not surprise anyone that in spite of conflict, we remain friends," Chief Buthelezi said.

On Wednesday a member of the assembly, Mr V Madikiza called on the six PFP Mps who signed the report to come to Ulundi to apologise for the "deep hurt" it had caused. He said Mr Moorcroft should be made to "squirm like a worm".

TUTU PLANS BIG SUMMIT

26/4/85 Sowetan

THE ANGLICAN Bishop of Johannesburg, the Right Rev Desmond Tutu, yesterday announced that he was arranging an urgent meeting between major political groups in the black community to defuse the in-fighting among the organisations.

He said this following reports that the organisations were now regrouping and there were fears that

By MZIKAYISE EDMOND

sult leading to the injury of supporters of the groups.

The organisations presently involved in the fighting are the Azanian Peoples Organisation (Azapo), the Azanian Students Movement (Azasm), the Azanian Students Organisations (Azaso), the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) and Inkatha.

For the past seven days there have been reports of attacks of Azasm members, Inkatha members in Nigel, and an attack at the University of the North on

Lybon Mabasa, and Azasm leader, Thami Mcerwa.

Both the Azapo and the UDF said yesterday they will only comment about the black convention after being approached by Bishop Tutu, while the East Rand region of Inkatha said it was delighted and prepared to take part.

Mr Imrann Moosa the publicity secretary of Azapo said: "We cannot comment at this stage until we have been approached by Bishop Tutu and he has fully informed us about the programme to be discussed."

Mr Mbatia also condemned the attack on Inkatha members in Duduza at the weekend and appealed for calm in the township.

Bishop Tutu said he was perturbed to see blacks fighting and killing each other. He also said he has been approached by a number of organisations and individuals to hold such a meeting to bring peace among the different black political organisation who have recently been fighting each other.

Bomb Sowetan horror

DALES

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Avondale Branch: 100 Avondale Ave., Avondale
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R55 MONTHLY OVER 18 MONTHS

DIG SUMMIT

26/4/85 Sowetan

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By MZIKAYISE EDOM

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Mr Imrann Moosa the publicity secretary of Azapo said: "We cannot comment at this stage until we have been approached by Bishop Tutu and he has fully informed us about the programme to be discussed."

A spokesman for the UDF said in Johannesburg yesterday the priority of the organisation was to see all oppressed people in the country united. He also said he can only comment further after the organisation had held talks with Bishop Tutu.

Mr Steven Mbatha, the secretary general of the East Rand region of Inkatha said: "We will definitely take part if invited because we are also against blacks fighting and killing each other".

Mr Mbatha also condemned the attack on Inkatha members in Duduza at the weekend and appealed for calm in the township.

Bishop Tutu said he was perturbed to see blacks fighting and killing each other. He also said he has been approached by a number of organisations and individuals to hold such a meeting to bring peace among the different black political organisations who have recently been fighting each other.

Bomb horror

A BLACK man died in Durban yesterday, apparently when a bomb he was carrying exploded, ripping his legs from his body.

The blast occurred at a bus stop in Sydney Road, Congella Park, after lunch.

A fire engine sped to the scene and a police spokesman confirmed that a man had been killed in an explosion.

The spokesman said nobody else had been injured — Sapa.



BISHOP TUTU ... Wants political leaders to meet.

DALES

Budget Busters!

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DEP: R126,00

R55
 MONTHLY OVER 18 MONTHS

CASH PRICE



Mr OLIVER TAMBO, President of the African National Congress.

(11A) Sowetan 26/4/85
Tambo is ready to talk to SA

WASHINGTON — The Washington Post reported yesterday that Mr Oliver Tambo, head of the African National Congress, said yesterday he was prepared to meet leaders of the South African Government to discuss negotiating a new constitution to extend democracy to blacks.

Mr. Tambo omitted mention of several pre-conditions he had previously stipulated would be required before his organisation would be willing to bargain with white officials, the newspaper said.

The ANC leader is in the United States to drum up support for his cause and visited Washington this week.

Mr Tambo said South Africans who opposed the Government appreciated deeply the anti-apartheid demonstrations throughout the US and the Congressional moves to impose econ-

omic sanctions on South Africa.

“His remarks appeared designed to portray his organisation as moderate and flexible and to increase pressure on Congress to adopt the strongest possible set of sanctions,” Post reporter Glenn Frankel wrote.

Whites would have a significant role to play in a democratic, non-racial South Africa and that they would not be run out of the country.

“He also indicated his group might be willing to discuss and negotiate specific mechanisms to protect white rights, the newspaper said.

Mr Tambo said that the first four years of the Reagan Administration were a “most disastrous period” but added that the rise of the anti-apartheid movement in the US had given rise to great hopes.

Mr Tambo predicted

that violence in South Africa would continue to escalate until the SA Government became convinced that apartheid was unworkable.

FM 26/4/85

SECURITY

~~TOP SECRET~~ IIA

More detentions

Three key officials of the United Democratic Front (UDF) were detained under SA's security laws as the FM went to press. UDF sources say they have received police confirmation of the detention of the organisation's national publicity secretary, Terror Lekota, its national general secretary, Popo Molefe, and former UDF Transvaal secretary, Moss Chikane. It is not known under what section of the Internal Security Act the men are being held.

The detentions damage the UDF, which has emerged as the main rallying point of opposition to government inside the country, and which State President Botha recently accused of being the internal expression of the banned ANC. On May 20 next month, 16 leading members of the UDF and affiliated organisations, who have been detained for up to six months, are due to appear in court to face treason charges.

Lekota, Molefe and Chikane join numerous other UDF colleagues who are held in preventive detention, mostly under Section 29 of the Act, without having been charged with an offence.

A total of 116 people were detained in SA and the homelands for political reasons during the first quarter of 1985. This compares with 99 detentions in the same period last year, says the Detainees' Parents Support Committee (DPSC) which monitors bannings and detentions in SA.

Detentions in the latest quarter brings to 173 the number of people still being held, without charge, as at March 31. Of these, 76 are from the Transvaal, 26 from Ciskei, 10 from the eastern Cape, and 46 are listed as "unknown." The DPSC report is based on statistics issued by the Minister of Law and Order, Louis le Grange. Until a Security Police swoop on UDF members and officials occurred in the Ciskei on March 28, a low number of detentions had been recorded for the month, says the DPSC.

The detentions would appear to reflect growing extra-parliamentary opposition to government, led in part by the UDF. They come at a time of simmering township unrest. From October to December last year, for example, 67 people were detained following the outbreak of violence in the Vaal Triangle that September.

Most (121) are being held in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, with 10 incarcerated in terms of Section 31 and four under Section 50 of the Act. The 26 detainees from Ciskei are held under the homeland's National Security Act, with two held under Transkei's and three under Bophuthatswana's similar laws. The detention status of seven persons is listed as "unknown."

One man, Nathaniel Maxulili, had his banning order lifted in March, more than a year before the expiry date of the original order, says the DPSC. That leaves 10 people, in-

cluding Winnie Mändela, still serving banning orders.

A number of meetings were banned during March. These included one called by the Katlehong Action Committee, to have been addressed by former councillor Jacob Khoali, all meetings of the UDF and its affiliates in Port Elizabeth to commemorate Sharpeville day on March 21, all meetings in the districts of Pretoria, Vanderbijlpark and Vereeniging called to mark the same anniversary.

Le Grange also banned, until March 31 1986, all gatherings which "advise, encourage, propagate, advocate or promote the non-attendance or opposition to the attendance of any school, college, university or other educational institution." And, on March 29, the Minister gazetted a further notice banning any indoor meetings of the UDF and 28 other organisations for three months until June 30 in 16 magisterial districts of the eastern Cape (where much of the current township violence and school boycotts are occurring) and two in the Transvaal.

The Phoenix also rises

114
213
1400
173
1800

The unprecedented publicity surrounding the Langa killings and the Kannemeyer commission of inquiry into the tragic events of March 21 have focused the world's attention on the eastern Cape — and the Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage metropole in particular.

The east Cape has long been regarded as a major SA trouble spot — with justification. Opposition movements have always found fertile ground there. The reasons for this are historic and are closely tied into the economics of the region. The current unrest is but a continuation of the events of last year which was marked by school boycotts, protests against the tricameral elections and strenuous opposition to the new deal for local government in the black townships.

Wide-scale retrenchments have added to already alarmingly high structural unemployment in the region and have fuelled discontent. There have been two work stayaways in the area.

One, a protest against price increases, was confined mainly to PE, called by the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation and linked to 30th anniversary celebrations of the SA Congress of Trade Unions. Significantly, unions like the Fosatu and Council of Unions of SA affiliates and several other independents did not back the stayaway, although the UDF-affiliated Motor Assembly and Component Workers' Union (Macwusa) did. But Fosatu unions became involved in the stayaway that occurred in Uitenhage soon afterwards on the day of the Langa shootings and the day after that. Nevertheless, there appear to be unresolved tensions between these unions and the more overtly political unions and community organisations linked to the UDF.

When the gap between rising expectations and gratification grows too wide, people revolt. Business and industry in PE are determined to grow out of their problems. At last government has given them the incentive to do so.

Brian Matthew of the Midlands Chamber of Industries says that one in four out-of-work is a conservative estimate of the unemployment problem in the area. Matthew says the unrest is closely linked to unemployment, although not in its entirety. Roux van der Merwe, professor of industrial relations at the University of Port Elizabeth, gave his

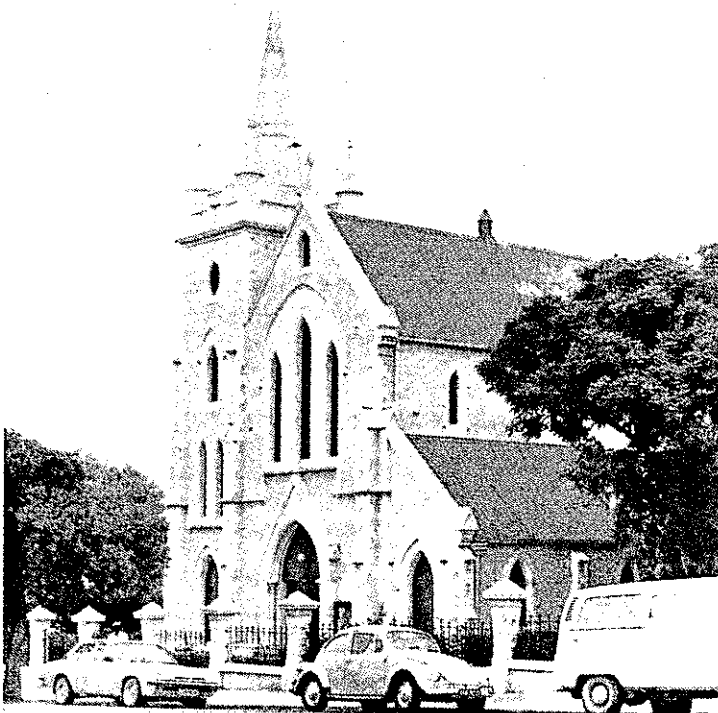
view in a recent article: "The warnings, sounded over a considerable period, that continued unemployment in the east Cape will have disastrous consequences for the stability of the area, are proving true. The continuing and growing presence of thousands of retrenched and fired jobless, together with disaffected youths who have never worked and have little hope of doing so, is no less than explosive."

In PE and nearby Uitenhage the fortunes of the population are inextricably bound up with the motor and related industries which account for about 60% of the region's industrial product.

Two major motor assemblers — Ford and General Motors — are situated in PE. A third — Volkswagen — has its plant at

Uitenhage. In December 1982 the three companies had a combined workforce of 17 048. In March this year the figure had dropped to 11 334. Most of these jobs — but certainly not all — were lost through retrenchment. Since July last year all three have also worked intermittent periods of short-time. There have also been periods of temporary lay-off at the plants.

More retrenchments — at least at Ford — are in the pipeline. The big crunch for Ford workers will probably come at the end of the year when, in terms of the US multinational's plan to merge with Amcar to form Samcor, the Neave plant will cease production. Originally it was thought that this would claim 2 000 jobs. But, according to Samcor human resources executive director Fred Ferreira, the non-replacement of people who have left Ford's service and the absorption of the maximum number of others into other company activities means



Uitenhage's Catholic church . . . a community centre for Langa residents

that the figure will be significantly lower. This strategy forms part of a remarkable agreement Ford has reached with two of the unions operating its plants — Fosatu's National Automobile and Allied Workers' Union (Naawu) and the conservative Yster-en-Staal Unie. Other aspects of the agreement include an undertaking by Ford to help people find alternative employment and a benefit programme which provides that retrenched workers are paid a certain assured income for up to 18 months after they become unemployed. Ferreira says Samcor is hoping that the Neave closure will coincide with the expected economic upturn so that its impact

will be diminished.

Why has the recession hit the Port Elizabeth nexus harder than other areas in SA? The answer is to be found in the economic history of the region. Ford and GM established themselves in PE about 60 years ago for the simple reason that the harbour was a perfect conduit for car parts which arrived from abroad. In those days the car business consisted primarily of taking parts out of boxes and assembling them. VW set up shop after World War 2. The Japanese began to enter the car market, but consumer resistance to their products ensured that eastern Cape companies kept ahead. Many component fac-

ories were attracted to the area. Times were good.

But the local content programme, introduced in 1960, spelt trouble — mainly because it coincided with several other factors. The most significant was the tremendous population growth in the PWV area and the development of Durban as an industrial centre. This meant that when several other car assemblers came to SA the newcomers had the advantage of knowing that the major car market had shifted to the Johannesburg-Durban axis. Then there were high costs involved in transporting steel from Pretoria and getting cars up to the Highveld. The coloured labour preference policy interfered with normal labour patterns until it was lifted in the late Sixties.

Another problem, as PE and Uitenhage industrialists see it, is that their area has always been accorded "poor cousin" status in government's economic planning. There are bitter complaints that until November last year, when government markedly upgraded the terms of the decentralisation incentives in the area, its package had always been less attractive than those in other regions.

Says Roux van der Merwe: "The coloured labour preference policy, combined with the decentralisation package, represented double interference with normal economic growth in PE."

Reviewing the past, Matthew says: "We should have been talking to government about the area in the mid-Sixties. But our technical leadership still kept us ahead. However, as the other car companies developed the PE/Uitenhage share of the market grew smaller and smaller. All the chickens came home to roost about three years ago. There was a dramatic drop in car sales from about 32 000 units sold in June last year to 17 000 in July after the gst hike. The motor industry cannot adjust to such sudden swings in the market. The brakes should have been on sooner."

Government's decision to upgrade the region's decentralisation incentives has been greeted with widespread relief — and it seems to be having the desired effect. Louis Koch, chairman of the Regional Development Advisory Committee for region "D" which covers PE/Uitenhage, says 1 800 new jobs have been created since the new incentives were approved. This includes expansions to existing industry and new industry. Says Koch: "We believe the new incentive package will go a considerable way towards improving the competitiveness of this region. What is necessary now is to make quite sure that all industrialists here are totally informed about what they are entitled to. Many businessmen were unaware that they qualify for benefits." Koch says there is a new, aggressive mood among businessmen.

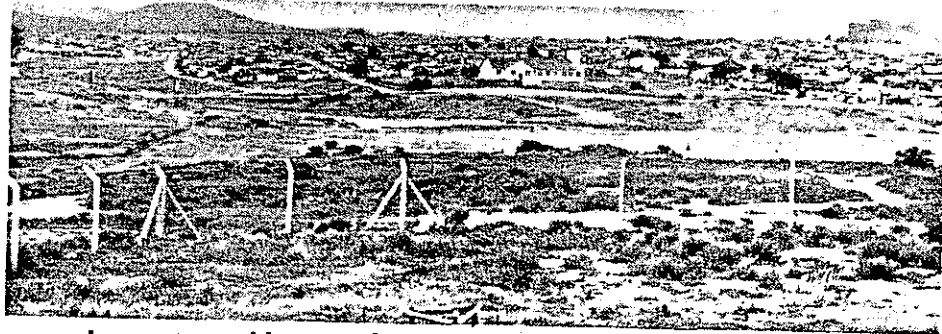
And it seems he is right. A local newspaper, the *Eastern Province Herald*, in conjunction with commerce and industry, is sponsoring a one-day symposium "Focus on Opportunity" which will take place in June to formulate a plan to stimulate economic devel-



Funeral for Langa victims . . . the community mourns



Macwusa's Dennis Neer . . . tensions with the more mainstream unions



Langa township . . . the scene of the March 21 shootings

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opment in the area.

Several industrialists indicated to the *FM* that they are optimistic, despite the gloom created by the unrest. They point to several factors:

- Contrary to popular perception, the east Cape is not really strike-prone. Employers say wildcat strikes are fading very quickly and unions are using dispute settling machinery more frequently;
- The region has an excellent transport infrastructure;
- The labour force is relatively well trained and contains a high percentage of skilled workers;
- Multinational companies like Goodyear, Ford, Firestone, GM and VW pursue enlightened industrial relations practices and are

committed to working with SA trade unions;

- Mainstream unions like Naawu and Yster-en-Staal are not shirking their responsibility in trying to resolve difficulties; and
- The region now has a low labour turnover. According to UPE research, turnover for all blue-collar workers was 70% a year during the Seventies. Now it is 14% with black males recording a rate of 10%.

Industrialists say there are several things government should be doing to alleviate the stresses the region is facing:

- Modifications should be made to fiscal policies relating to HP and gst;
- The petrol price should be lowered;
- The local content programme must be abolished; and
- Government should cushion the blow that

the introduction of perks tax will bring.

Roux Van der Merwe believes there can be improvement if changes are made even if in the short term — and the long term — the chances of creating full employment in the region are slim. "We have got to try to create more employment opportunities. That has a spin-off effect in the rest of the community. Government totally ignored PE all these years. Perhaps it is unfortunate justice that it took one of the most serious blows to the eastern Cape for government to initiate change at a crucial point."

Nevertheless, Art Tragensa, GM director of personnel, goes to the heart of the problem when he says: "Until there is franchise to provide for representation of blacks we will continue to have difficulties." ■

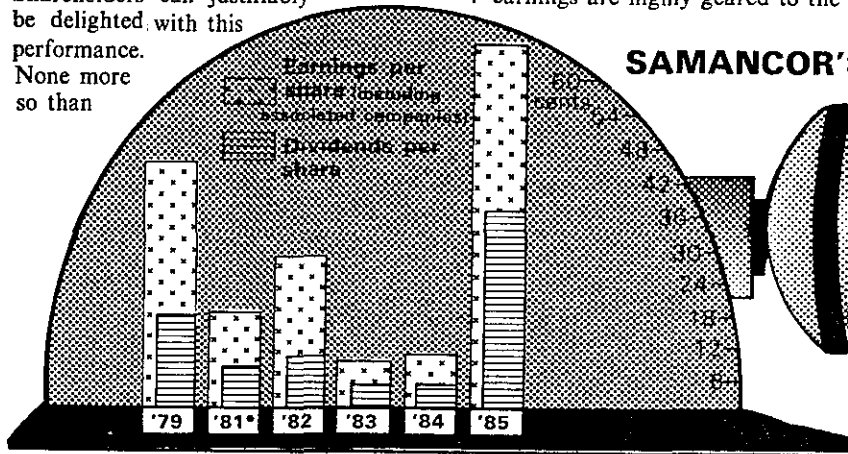
SAMANCOR

Swings and roundabouts

There is a touch of frustration in Samancor MD Colin Officer's voice. "This is one of the most difficult businesses to manage that I know," he says. That may seem a somewhat peevish comment right now. The world's largest integrated producer of ferro-alloys this week announced hugely increased profits for the year to end-February. It is a sterling performance — the best in the group's history, which stretches back to the establishment of SA Manganese in 1925.

Pre-tax profits were R118m after last year's loss of R485 000. Earnings a share, including the share of associates' earnings, made a quantum leap from 9,4c to 66,38c and the dividend is up 640% from 5c to 37c. Shareholders can justifiably be delighted with this performance.

None more so than



majority shareholder Gencor, whose management can now comfortably say that this is one recent acquisition that has not gone sour.

The problem is that this recovery exemplifies the violent fluctuations in the earnings pattern. The last time that profits were anywhere near as good was 1979, when earnings a share were 46c. Investors must now ask: how much more growth lies ahead before the next sharp downturn in profits?

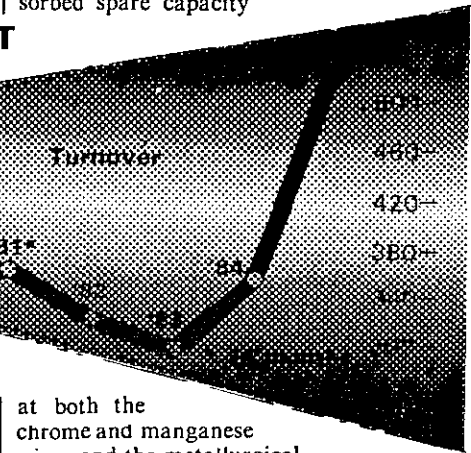
In fact, the immediate outlook is encour-

Samancor has reported the best results in its 60-year history. But it is locked into cyclical markets and the next downturn could again cause profits to collapse.

aging. Last year's turnaround was caused by a combination of factors which took a favourable turn at the same time. Some of these should be around for a year or two yet: About 70% of Samancor's turnover is normally earned in export markets, where prices are quoted in dollars. Therefore, its earnings are highly geared to the exchange

two sectors. First, the Western world production of crude steel — which consumes manganese ore and ferro-manganese — rose from 407 Mt in 1983 to an estimated 447 Mt in 1984. This sharply increased sales of manganese ore. Ferro-manganese sales remained static owing to the large over-capacity in this market.

Second, output of stainless steel — the main market for ferro-chrome — rose by 14% to a record 8 Mt of ingot production and this led to increased ferro-chrome sales. Prices also firmed, although they turned softer late last year. Because of the strong consumption of ferro-chrome, demand for metallurgical grade chrome ore also rose; Higher tonnages of export products absorbed spare capacity



at both the chrome and manganese mines and the metallurgical plants. "We have very little spare capacity at any of our facilities now," says Officer. A rationalisation programme at the mines further improved cost efficiencies.

The rationalisation of the chrome mines was announced when Gencor increased its holding in Samancor to 50% last June. Three chrome mines that were in Gencor's base metals division have been moved into Samancor, which has mothballed Ruighoek,

rate. The devaluation of the rand had a potent effect on last year's profits;

The economic revival overseas worked through to the long-depressed steel producers, whose activity rose for the second consecutive year. This industry is ultimately the main user of Samancor's basic products — chrome ore (used by ferro-chrome producers) and manganese ore, ferro-chrome and ferro-manganese.

Samancor splits steel-making activity into

Belabouring politics

FEATURE

The political union is a myth — at least in SA. Trade unions and their confederations, whatever their complexion, have always played the game of political leverage.

Rightwing unions' preoccupations date at least as far back as the 1922 Rand Revolt. Defence of white workers' privilege against the "cheap black tide" is still the theme, though the SA Confederation of Labour (Sacol) and its best-known member, the white Mineworkers' Union (MWU), no longer retain their privileged position *vis à vis* government.

The MWU is battling to retain the definition of a "scheduled person" in the Mines and Works Act — which excludes blacks from obtaining certificates to do skilled work — in the teeth of pressure from the Chamber of Mines and black unions. The 1979 O'oKiep strike, which was seen by many as a warning to government not to accept the reformist recommendations of the Wiehahn Commission, was a crushing defeat for the MWU. Other white unions did not back it; and government, against expectations, did not step in to try to prevent the strike.

Sacol has tight links with the Herstigte Nasionale Party, and seems to be on good terms with Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party as well. That's not all: MWU president Cor de Jager called for members to join Carel Boshoff's Afrikaner Volkswag at the union's congress this year. Clearly, organised rightwing white labour perceives its defensive battle as a political one; how far it will be prepared to go remains to be seen.

The Trade Union Council of SA (Tucsa), despite breakaways, remains SA's largest union federation. And since the decline of Sacol's intimacy with government at the end of the Sixties, the Tucsa lobby has carried considerable weight — indeed, it credits itself with a major role in bringing about the Wiehahn reforms.

Tucsa representatives sit on a number of government boards and committees, notably the National Manpower Commission — unlike representatives of the emerging union movement who, the *FM* understands, were never invited to join, perhaps because they would not have done so. The Economic Advisory Council, the National Co-ordinating Board, the Unemployment Insurance Board, and the Regional Development Advisory Council all have Tucsa representatives.

Tucsa also has a Parliamentary Liaison Committee. This body's task is made easier by the council's longstanding political connections, and the fact that several Tucsa personalities have served or are serving in Parliament. Anna Scheepers, for decades president of the Garment Workers' Union, was a New Republic Party Senator during the Seventies. Archie Poole, ex-general sec-

retary of the Engineering Industrial Workers' Union, now holds a seat in the House of Representatives. And Ronnie Webb, an ex-Tucsa president, was appointed to the President's Council at its inception.

As the history of black unionisation over the past 50 years indicates, groups barred from overt political activity will be forced to express all their aspirations through union structures. A salient instance of this use of leverage was last November's stayaway, when union members joined with a number of Transvaal community organisations in a two-day work stayaway to dramatise a series of political and economic demands.

Fosatu's participation — as the strongest and best-organised body — was the best evidence yet of its gradual shift from its earlier sedulous avoidance of overt political moves. Calls for a brief nationwide work stoppage in memory of unionist Neil Aggett's death in detention, and for non-partici-

defined ideas of their functions, responsibilities and limits. Fosatu will in future be wary of the terms on which it co-operates with organisations made up of activists who are not directly answerable to a constituency.

Participation in the stayaway, Fosatu sources say, was the first organisational manifestation of a trend. Recessionary conditions are limiting unions' ability to win concessions for membership on the factory floor; and in compensation there will be a tendency to respond to community problems such as transport, rents and education. These, also exacerbated by recession, increasingly preoccupy union members. However, the stayaway weapon is unlikely to be used by Fosatu again, it is conceded, except in the case of an "absolutely immediate, clear-cut objective."

This was clearly evident in the refusal by affiliates of Fosatu and Council of Unions of SA (Cusa) as well as the General Workers' Union, Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union and African Food and Canning Workers' Union to participate in the recent stayaway called by the Port Elizabeth Black Community Organisation.

Then there is the rise of United Democratic Front (UDF) and black consciousness unions. These can be seen as the outcome of unionisation undertaken by political movements, rather than an instance of unions becoming politicised. Their growth in the last five years is another factor which has pushed organisations like Cusa and Fosatu toward responding to political issues, despite their history of shopfloor orientation — which, ironically, has given them structures strong enough to implement and sustain such actions.

Recently there have been nationwide celebrations to mark the 30th anniversary of the SA Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu), the union body closely linked to the African National Congress during the Fifties and early Sixties. These are possibly indicative of a new drive to revive Sactu with all the political implications that this carries.*

However, the single most significant lever and development in union strategy, will be the formation of a new federation of emerging unions later this year. Participants are Fosatu, Cusa, the General Workers' Union, the Food and Canning Workers' Union, the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union and the Cape Town Municipal Workers' Association. Once the federation is formed the balance of labour power in SA will be transformed. In the absence of a national black political party, the new federation may be forced, however reluctantly, to don that mantle. And in the leverage game, where the stakes are power and influence, this will put the right wing and the centre in the shade. ■



MWU's Arrie Paulus ... ally of the far right

pation in the tricameral elections, were among Fosatu's few political moves prior to the stayaway.

Reason for the change? Certainly the federation has grown larger and more confident; but, Fosatu sources add, its constituency has also widened to include increasingly politically-concerned workers. The federation structure made it inevitable that workers concerned about the roots of township and educational unrest would pressure their leadership to act.

The stayaway experience, Fosatu sources say, provides practical lessons. First, the organising committee was too small, and its members did not have sufficiently clearly

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Inkatha and the vote

Mail Reporter

DR DENNIS MADIDE, a senior Inkatha spokesman, wishes to point out that Inkatha does not necessarily support a policy of one man, one vote.

The Rand Daily Mail reported last week that Dr Madide, KwaZulu Minister of the Interior, had told the Afrikaner Studentebond and Inkatha Youth, meeting at RAU, that for blacks the only rational demand to end violence was a system of one man, one vote.

Dr Madide has pointed out that he qualified this by saying "our leader, Chief M G Buthelezi, has always said that he recognises that many whites are not yet ready to accept this and therefore he was willing to discuss a federal solution".

Chief and PFP patch up rift

(11A)

NM 26/4/85

~~20/4/85~~

African Affairs Correspondent

ULUNDI—The Natal leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Ray Swart, says the satisfactory outcome of yesterday's 'peace talks' involving the PFP and Inkatha has confirmed the two organisations have more in common than things which divide them.

He was speaking at the Press conference after talks with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president of Inkatha, and members of his Cabinet.

The discussions followed a 'war of words' between members of the two movements during the past two weeks.

The controversy erupted after the publication by six members of the PFP of a report on the situation in Langa

township, Uitenhage, following the shooting there on March 22.

Chief Buthelezi alleged that the PFP had given credence to a 'slander' against KwaZulu that Zulu detachments of police had gone to Uitenhage to shoot, kill and maim non-Zulus.

However, Mr Swart said this had never been the intention of the PFP MPs.

'Clearly the police units there were South African Police units under the control of the Republican Government and were in no way the responsibility of the KwaZulu Government,' he said.

Mr Swart said he would be reporting back on the outcome of the talks to Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the PFP, in Cape Town on Monday.

Chief Buthelezi said he had sent an

express letter to Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Co-Operation and Development, yesterday, asking for South African Cabinet clarification on the possibility that Zulu policemen had been 'handpicked' to go to Uitenhage.

He said he had already told Dr Viljoen that it would be a 'wicked thing' if it were true.

Chief Buthelezi said he believed friends should not 'pussy-foot' around and should exchange harsh words if the occasion demanded it.

However, this should not interfere with the good relations which had been built up between the PFP and Inkatha over the years.

Earlier the Chief Minister said Mr Swart, who had been sitting in the visitors' gallery of the Assembly, was a welcome guest.

Oliver
Tambo
NM 26/11/85
'willing
to talk'

WASHINGTON—Oliver Tambo, head of the outlawed African National Congress, was quoted yesterday as saying he had offered to hold talks with South Africa on extending democracy to the country's black majority.

In an interview with the Washington Post he said he was willing to discuss negotiating a new constitution.

He appeared to drop several demands that the ANC previously said were preconditions to negotiations, including the release of Nelson Mandela and other jailed ANC members and the abolition of the apartheid system of racial segregation.

But Mr Tambo, in the U S to win support for the ANC's drive against apartheid, also said he had little hope of his offer being accepted.

South Africa had said negotiations could not begin until the ANC renounced violence.

The ANC, founded in 1912 but outlawed inside South Africa in 1960, could not renounce force because, said Mr Tambo, armed struggle was one of several tools necessary to force South Africa to abandon apartheid.

The ANC formed an underground military movement in 1961 and has since used violence.

Mr Tambo dismissed as 'small manipulations' recent reforms by the South African Government aimed at gradually dismantling apartheid restrictions. — (Sapa-Reuter)

Oliver Tambo offers to talk with SA leaders 11A

WASHINGTON. — Oliver Tambo, head of the outlawed African National Congress (ANC), was quoted yesterday as saying he had offered to hold talks with Pretoria on extending democracy to the country's black majority.

Mr Tambo said in an interview with the Washington Post newspaper he would be willing to discuss negotiating a new constitution.

He appeared to drop several demands that the ANC previously said were preconditions to negotiations with Pretoria — including the release of Nelson Mandela and other jailed ANC members and abolition of the apartheid system of racial segregation.

But Mr Tambo, in the United States to win support for the ANC's drive against apartheid, also said he had little hope of his offer being accepted by Pretoria, which had demanded that the ANC reject violence as a precondition to negotiations.

He said the ANC, founded in 1912 but outlawed inside South Africa in 1960, could not renounce the use of force, saying armed struggle was one of several tools

necessary to force Pretoria to abandon apartheid.

The ANC formed an underground military movement in 1961, after being outlawed, and the organisation has since then used violence in its war against the Government.

Mr Tambo predicted that violence in South Africa would continue to escalate until the Government became convinced that apartheid was "unworkable".

The ANC leader said he supported current moves by the US Congress to impose economic sanctions on South Africa.

But the interview was published as the Reagan Administration introduced a Bill that would delay any decision on sanctions for two years.

Mr Tambo also dismissed as "small manipulations" recent reforms by the South African Government aimed at gradually dismantling some apartheid restrictions.

He said the reforms granting some property and voting rights to blacks in urban areas, and a decision to abolish laws banning inter-racial sex and marriage, were "too little (and) ... too late". — Sapa Reuter.

SHOWBIZ

It'll be a UDF riot of sound

A RIOT of sound will erupt on Sunday at Fun Valley during the United Democratic Front Music Festival.

The festival kicks off at 10am and will almost be something of a parade of goodies, bearing in mind the big line-up — Spho "Hots" Mabuse, Juluka, Brenda and The Big Dudes, Supafrika, The Jazz Pioneers, Thandie Klaasen, Malombo, Spho Gumede and Khaya Mahlangu, Nude Read, D-Fusion and South Of Sahara.

Last year local musicians clipped overseas artists in their recordings. Just recently Spho Mabuse and Juluka received the prestigious Scotty Awards. The Scotty is awarded each year for technical and artistic excellence in the recording industry. And the judges are pooled from a fertile ground of the music people — critics, engineers and the works!

It can also be noted that Spho Gumede will make his first public and live appearance since the release of his monster album, Faces and Places. Khaya Mahlangu, his long-time friend and music graduate is featured on the LP.

The album is easily the best I've listened to in two

By ELLIOT MAKHAYA

months since Jonathan Butler's self-titled Jonathan Butler. A track which has astounded critics and music lovers is the innovative Isomiso, where he features a Soweto choir — a rare piece of fusion, indeed!

A glimpse at the names suggests that the festival will have something for everyone — a mixed bag of jazz, soul, rock and pop. And it will also provide the crowd an opportunity of seeing "new" names like Nude Read and D-Fusion.

Buses have been arranged for people leaving for the festival from Soweto and Alexandra. Buses will pick up people from 8.30am at Ipelegeng Centre, Phiri Roman Catholic Church, Emdeni Youth Centre, Meadowlands Zone Eight and Ten terminus, Maponya's Supermarket, Uncle Tom's Hall, Orlando DOCC and Diepkloof Bar. From Alexandra they will depart from No 61 17th Avenue, and proceed to Realogile School.

'Stop this violence against the people'

2014/185 same fax

THE State President, Mr P W Botha, should unconditionally stop the violence against the country's people and release all victims of apartheid from their political prisons before making offers of a conditional release to Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress.

This was said by the Release Mandela Campaign Committee in reaction to Mr Botha's second offer of conditional release to the ANC leader in Parliament last week. The RMC said the repeated offer disturbs them because it shows "clearly that President Botha did not listen, either to Mandela's reply or to popular feelings in South Africa."

In a statement, the committee said: "Mandela and the people demanded that Botha and his Government should first renounce violence as a way of ruling the majority of South Africa. It is not for Mandela to renounce violence, but for Botha to renounce apartheid, which is violence in character. If Botha is committed to peaceful solutions to the country's problems, then he should start listening to majority opinion."

The RMC also demanded that Mr Botha should; unconditionally commute the death sentence of Benjamin Moloise; unconditionally release the detained and jailed who are rotting in police cells because of their opposition to apartheid. The committee also said it would like to point out that Mr Botha once said that no blacks were jailed in South Africa when they disagree with the Government on political issues.

The RMC also demanded the unbanning of all political organisations, banned and banished people; stop the violence against people by withdrawing the army and police from the townships; discard the present constitution which has resulted in so much violence. Only this will ensure that the solutions to the current conflict will be peaceful. Whether there is further violence and bloodshed rests in Mr Botha and his Government's hands.

Coloured House 'must deal with conscription'

MAGUS 26/4/88
11A

Parliamentary Staff

ANY decision about compulsory military training for coloured people was a matter for the House of Representatives and not for him, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, has said.

This was his response to a question from Mr Desmond Lockey (Labour Party, nominated) on the Government's policy on compulsory military service for people of colour.

General Malan said: "The Government does not decide beforehand. You must take the decision."

TURNED AWAY

The issue was raised during yesterday's debate on the Defence Vote in the House of Representatives.

Several speakers of the majority Labour Party complained that coloured volunteers for military service were being turned away because they could not be accommodated in the Defence Force.

Mr William Meyer (LP Robertson) appealed to the Minister to ensure accommodation was provided for such volunteers.

He also suggested that the time had come to give coloured girls an opportunity to serve in the SADF.

Earlier, Mr Kenneth Lategan (LP Hanover Park) said the La-

bour Party had been criticised on the grounds that its participation in the new constitutional system was tantamount to supporting compulsory military conscription for coloured people.

He quoted the party's leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, as saying the Labour Party rejected compulsory military service until such time as full citizenship was granted to all South Africans, including black people.

As far as the Labour Party was concerned this issue was "non-negotiable".

He suggested that less money be spent on defence and more on education, housing, pensions, and on moves "to build a united South Africa".

TOWNSHIPS

Other issues raised during the debate included the use of troops to help police during unrest in black townships, and job opportunities for coloured people in Armscor.

The Deputy Minister of Defence, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said there were forces in South Africa that were seeking to create disorder, chaos and instability.

The Government would use everything at its disposal to prevent such chaos. That was why the SADF was being used to help during unrest.

Tambo: ^{AMG 45} Slabbert ^{26/4/85} offer to ~~act~~ mediate ¹¹⁷

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

THE leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr. Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, today again offered to act as go-between for President P W Botha and African National Congress leader Mr Oliver Tambo, following Mr Botha's refusal of an ANC offer.

According to a Washington report, Mr Tambo had offered to hold talks and he appeared to drop several pre-conditions the ANC had set in the past — including the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and the abolition of apartheid.

President Botha today rejected the ANC offer because the organisation continued to refuse to abandon violence.

He had stated in Parliament that the Government was prepared to negotiate with any group which abandoned violence as a political method.

From Mr Tambo's remarks yesterday, it was clear that he was not relinquishing violence, therefore there could not be any negotiations, Mr Botha said.

"NEED FOR PEACE"

When Dr Slabbert first made his offer late yesterday to act as go-between, he said he was doing so with "equal sincerity to that of President Botha when he invited opposition parties last week to join an extended Cabinet committee to negotiate with blacks".

Dr Slabbert said: "I implore President Botha and his Government, not to dismiss Mr Tambo's offer out of hand.

"The presence of violence in our land is too serious and the need for peace and negotiation too important," he said.

"But such a meeting will only have real negotiating significance if both Mr Tambo and the President are willing to accept the role of a go-between in order to explore the possibility of future negotiations."

Following Mr Botha's rejection of the Tambo offer, Dr Slabbert today repeated his offer to act as go-between.

Mrs Helen Suzman said Mr Botha would be surprised at the reasonable reception he would receive if he was prepared to talk.

CAPT TINKS 26/4/85 117

WASHINGTON.— Oliver Tambo, head of the outlawed African National Congress (ANC), was quoted yesterday as saying he had offered to hold talks with Pretoria on extending democracy to the country's black majority.

He said in an interview with the Washington Post newspaper he would be willing to discuss negotiating a new constitution.

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ANC head 'is willing to talk'

outlawed inside South Africa in 1960. He said the ANC could not renounce the use of force. Armed struggle was one of several tools necessary to force Pretoria to abandon apartheid.

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war against the government.

Tambo predicted that violence in South Africa would continue to escalate until the government became convinced that apartheid was "unworkable".

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Africa. But the interview was published as the Reagan Administration introduced a bill that would delay any decision on sanctions for two years.

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Continued on page 4

Police hold talks with blacks

2 Post
26/4/85



Post Reporter

The Divisional Commissioner of Police in the Eastern Cape, Brigadier C A Swart, held talks today with representatives of black communities in Port Elizabeth. Yesterday he held talks in Uitenhage.

Brig Swart said in a statement he was going out of his way to hold discussions with people from black communities with a view to defusing unrest.

Mrs Molly Blackburn, PFP MPC for Walmer, and Mr T Majodina, an attorney from Port Elizabeth, were refused entry yesterday to the talks in Uitenhage.

Brig Swart met representatives from various township organisations today.

Representatives came from the Interdenominational Ministers' Association of Southern Africa (Idamsa), the United Democratic Front, the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation, the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress, the Congress of South African Students, the Port Elizabeth Women's Organisation and the Zwide Rugby Union.

Brigadier Swart said he would not allow talks he was holding with people from black communities in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage to become politicised.

After the meeting, Rev D Soga, president of Idamsa, said the police had refused to withdraw special police units and members of the SA Defence Force from Port Elizabeth's townships, as requested during the talks.

But Mr Soga said Brig Swart had given an undertaking that police would keep a very low profile at tomorrow's mass funeral of unrest victims to be held at the Dan Qeqe Stadium.

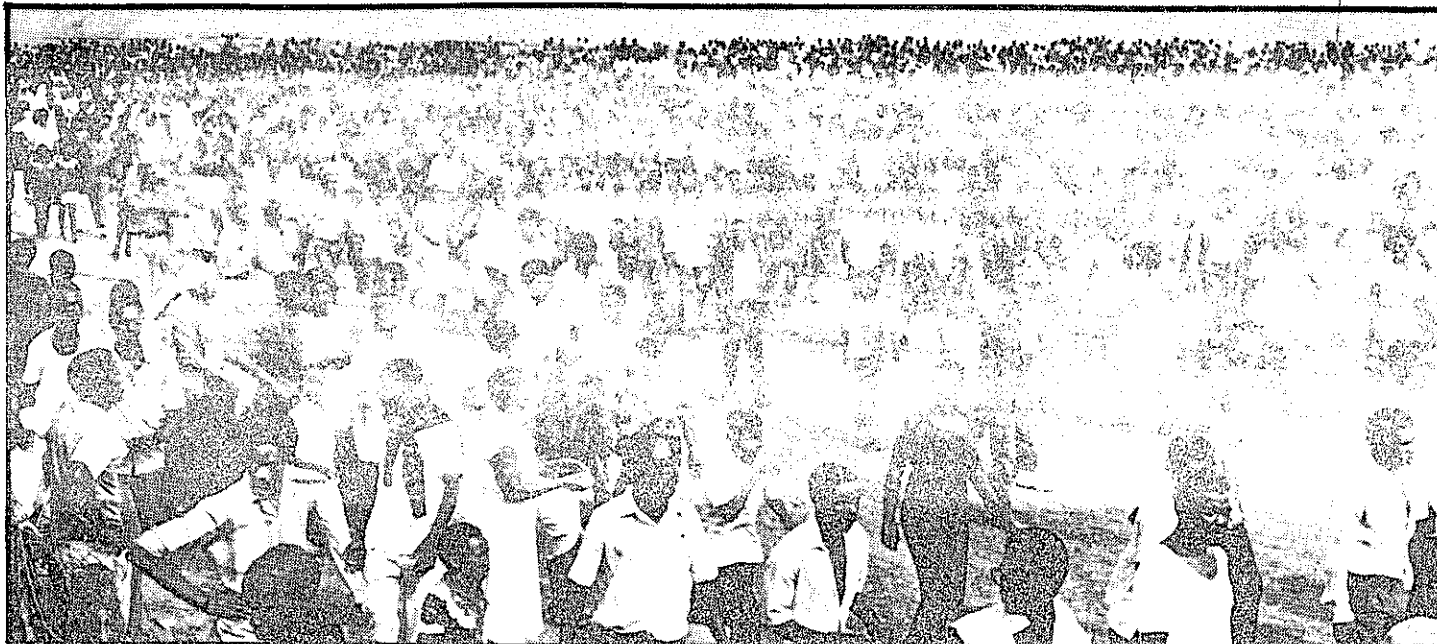
Mr Soga said it was clear Brig Swart was most concerned with the unrest situation in the townships.

"But our main aim of meeting him was to ask him to withdraw the special police units and the soldiers from our townships.

"We told him that we felt their presence was not helpful in minimising the unrest situation as it built up the anger of the people."

Mr Soga said Brig Swart told the delegation he could not meet their request because, if police were withdrawn, violence would escalate.

"Though we did not achieve what we had gone for, we believe some ground has been prepared for further talks with the police chiefs," he said.



"The black man alone can and must decide his own destiny, free of white collaboration and interference".

Black vs black

From JON QWELANE
Weekend Argus Correspondent

Dateline: JOHANNESBURG

*w/t areas
27/4/85*

11A



Chief Buthelezi

THE violence among black political organisations opposing the government could well mean that, when majority rule eventually does come, it could bring lengthy ideological bickering and violence among diverse groups before a ruling party is unanimously recognised.

The organisations are as varied as their approaches to the common struggle against apartheid.

On the one hand are the United Democratic Front and its affiliates, as well as the National Forum and organisations allied to it.

Both the UDF and the NF oppose the Government and keep clear of its structures. But the two have their own major ideological differences.

Avowed socialists

The NF and its affiliates, notably the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), are avowed socialists whose philosophy is Black Consciousness.

A slogan spray-painted on the walls of a Soweto discount mart reads: "Children of the great heroes of Africa, don't fear whites." The graffiti artist should have added "... instead fear yourselves."

They hold that the black man alone can and must decide his own destiny, free of white collaboration and interference.

This view has often been interpreted as racism in reverse, but that is wrong because while Black Consciousness is pro-black it is not anti-anybody.

The UDF and its affiliates believe in "progressive democracy" whereby anyone, regardless of colour, opposing apartheid can join forces in a common struggle.

Exclusively black

Tremendous difficulties between the UDF and the NF begin here because the one admits whites into its ranks while the other is exclusively black.

On the other hand is Inkatha, led by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu and also claiming to struggle for liberation from white rule.

The UDF and the NF share an aversion to Inkatha primarily because the

man leading it is the Chief Minister of a homeland, and homelands are seen as part of the Government's grand design to divide and rule.

On a smaller scale are civic organisations operating outside government structures, as well as small organisations led by people operating from government-created councils.

All these organisations derive their major support from the working classes, who in turn also belong to various trade unions. The support also comes from student organisations, the major ones being the Azanian Students' Movement (NF), the Congress of South African Students and the Azanian Students Organisation, both UDF affiliates.

Between these extremes are the churches which, because of their spiritual foundation, must play the role of mediator as well as minister to both sides. This works in theory only, because in practice some of the community's leading clergymen are politically active in the one or other camp.

CAPE TIMES 26/4/85 (118)

ANC head 'is willing to talk'

WASHINGTON.— Oliver Tambo, head of the outlawed African National Congress (ANC), was quoted yesterday as saying he had offered to hold talks with Pretoria on extending democracy to the country's black majority.

He said in an interview with the Washington Post newspaper he would be willing to discuss negotiating a new constitution.

He appeared to drop several demands that the ANC previously said were preconditions to negotiating with Pretoria — including the release of Nelson Mandela and other jailed members of the organization

outlawed inside South Africa in 1960. He said the ANC could not renounce the use of force. Armed struggle was one of several tools necessary to force Pretoria to abandon apartheid.

The ANC formed an underground military movement in 1961, after being outlawed, and the organization has since then used violence in its

war against the government.

Tambo predicted that violence in South Africa would continue to escalate until the government became convinced that apartheid was "unworkable".

The ANC leader said he supported current moves by the United States Congress to impose economic sanctions on South

Africa. But the interview was published as the Reagan Administration introduced a bill that would delay any decision on sanctions for two years.

Tambo also dismissed as "small manipulations" recent reforms by the South African Government aimed at gradually dismantling some apartheid restrictions. He said the reforms granting some property and voting rights to blacks in urban areas and a decision to abolish laws banning inter-racial sex and marriage were "too little (and) ... too late". — Sapa-Reuter

● Slabbert offer, page 4

CAPC TALKS 26/4/85
Slabbert
offer to
Botha,
Tambo

Political Staff

PORT ELIZABETH. — The Leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, last night offered to act as a "go-between" between the State President, Mr P W Botha, and the Leader of the African National Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo.

He said he would do this to establish whether there is a way of peace and negotiation.

Dr Slabbert was responding to a newspaper report from Washington that the ANC had offered to hold talks with the South African Government on "extending democracy to the country's black majority".

Urging the State President and the Government not to dismiss Oliver Tambo's offer "out of hand", Dr Slabbert warned that "the prospects of violence in our land are too terrible and the need for peace and negotiation too important".

He said the State President said he was willing to negotiate on behalf of his government "although it is still trapped in the policy of apartheid."

"Oliver Tambo says he is willing to negotiate on behalf of the ANC although it is still pursuing a strategy of violence."

The PFP abhorred apartheid and completely rejected violence, he said.

But, he added, the PFP was "uncompromisingly committed to negotiation as a way of solving South Africa's problems".

PFP/Inkatha: 'Many things in common'

11A
SECRET
PFP
WLT ARGUS 27/4/85



Weekend Argus Correspondent

ULUNDI. — The PFP and Inkatha had far more things in common than things dividing it, the Natal leader of the PFP, Mr Ray Swart, said after an unannounced meeting with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Speaking at a Press conference yesterday called by Chief Buthelezi, Mr Swart said he and KwaZulu's Chief Minister had discussed their differences "like old friends".

"The immediate differences stem from a section of a report submitted by six PFP caucus members, including myself, on the situation in Uitenhage after the recent unrest.

"Great disquiet"

"In that report we made special references to reports made to us by people in Langa township about the presence of a Zulu-speaking unit and the effect it had had on the mood of the people," Mr Swart said.

It was clear the reference had caused "great disquiet" among the people of KwaZulu as it had been felt that it could have implied the police

had been under the control of the KwaZulu Government.

"This was certainly never our intention. Clearly the police units there where SAP units under the control of the Republican Government and where in no way the responsibility of the KwaZulu Government," Mr Swart said.

He will report back to PFP leader, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert on his meeting with Chief Buthelezi on Monday.

Confident

Mr Swart said he was confident the dispute would be resolved as the PFP and Inkatha had "far more things in common than things which divide us".

Chief Buthelezi said he was very happy with the outcome of the meeting which had been "a real man-to-man discussion".

"We both acknowledge the fact that friendship should not be based on pussy footing," he said.

The Chief said he was awaiting a reply from the Government about whether Zulu police had deliberately chosen to help quell the Uitenhage unrest.

"It's wicked if it is true," he said.

the South African extra-parliamentary political spectrum is a bewildering array of UDFs, Azapos, NICs, TICs, Inkathas and National Forums. GARY van STADEN, Political Reporter, tries to unravel the political tapestry.



OUR STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION IS A STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

Southern Africa's bewildering array of political parties

Untangling the mix of left, right, centre

To the casual observer the South African extra-parliamentary political spectrum is a bewildering array of UDFs, Azapos, NICs, TICs, Inkathas and National Forums.

The average newspaper reader may sometimes find it difficult to work out who stands for what, why and who is attacking who this week.

In addition to all this there are also the "in-system" black political groupings, some of whom have taken various home-lands to "independence" and others who serve on the South African Government created community councils, or black local authorities to give them their technically correct name.

There is also little doubt that religious groupings such as the ultra-conservative Zion Christian Church could make their presence felt politically.

All of these organisations can be split into two main groups. Those who have selected to work within the system set up by the Government and those who oppose it.

There are some organisations which, while classified as being "in-system", are also totally opposed to it but believe that they can achieve more working from within. An example is Inkatha.

The spectrum ranges from communism and Marxism through to socialism on the left, passes through the centre where organisations like Inkatha are to be found and proceeds to the right from homeland governments to community councils and church bodies such as the Zion Christian Church.

Most of the news coming from the black (or rather non-racial) political spectrum during the past few months has been generated by "anti-system" organisations.

These organisations and political pressure groups fall into two main categories: the so-called Charterists and the Black Consciousness groups.

THE CHARTERISTS: All the organisations in this group subscribe to the philosophy of Charterism which is derived from a document called the Freedom Charter. The Charter was signed by a group of SA political organisations in 1955. The main thrust of the Charter is that all South Africans, regardless of race, creed or colour, must be accommodated in the political system and get a greater share of the country's economic wealth.

The major organisations in this group are the African National Congress (banned) and the United Democratic Front. The ANC is the only South African liberation group with an operational military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, or Spear of the Nation.

The South African Communist Party (banned) exercises its only influence on the black political sphere here, with the ANC. The SACP is not strictly a Charterist organisation but is involved only with them.

The UDF is itself the umbrella body for hundreds of smaller affiliates, the major ones being the Transvaal Indian Congress, the Natal Indian Congress, the Release Mandela Campaign and some of the major trade unions.

There are many other smaller affiliates including organisations such as the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee.

The student organisation which keeps the Charterist flag flying is the Congress of South African Students (Cosas).

Some organisations believe they can achieve more working from within.

Charterism recognises the existence of "national groups" in South Africa and believes democrats of all colours must work together to liberate oppressed South Africans. It is inclined to socialism but is not clear what economic course the country would follow under a Charterist government.

BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS: Fierce rivalry exists between Charterism and the advocates of Black Consciousness (BC) which has on occasion, resulted in violence. Though the divisions between the two are serious, they can, and have worked together.

The umbrella organisation for the BC groupings is the National Forum while its major affiliates

are the powerful pressure group, the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and its student wing, the Azanian Students Movement (Azasm).

TRADE UNIONS

It too has influential trade unions under its wing and is extremely active in the Cape where the Cape Action League played a major part in the poor percentage polls there during last year's tricameral elections.

BC does not see the destruction of apartheid as a major objective. It believes that apartheid will vanish as soon as the capitalist system in SA is destroyed and replaced by socialism. This is BC's major objective. Only then will the oppressed peoples of SA (Azania) be really free.

Azapo and the other major BC organisations have planned their strategy with this in mind. They foresee the total nationalisation of all the multi-national corporations operating in SA and the return of all the land to the people of South Africa.

BC has an inaccurate anti-white image.

The advocates of BC maintain that white South Africans cannot possibly aid in the liberation of the black majority because they are so much a part of the system.

BC maintains that democratic whites have a role to play in the national liberation process but that it must be strictly confined to their own community.

They should not seek to become involved in the struggle itself and must leave that to black South Africans. They have often accused the Charterists of allowing the liberation struggle to be hijacked by whites for their own ends.

DON'T BELONG

The Pan Africanist Congress (banned) also fits in about here.

The PAC is not a BC organisation and stands for Africa for the Africans only. They maintain that people of European

and Asian descent do not belong here. The PAC came about in reaction to a feeling among many blacks that the ANC had been taken over by the white-dominated SA Communist Party for its own ideological ends.

THE CENTRE: The main black political organisation at

The UDF is itself the umbrella body for hundreds of smaller affiliates.

the centre of the spectrum is the mainly Zulu supported Inkatha. Led by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Inkatha boasts a membership of 2 million people.

Chief Buthelezi has refused to accept independence from the SA Government for the homeland of kwaZulu but nonetheless has taken a measure of self rule.

This had led to charges from the liberation organisations that Chief Buthelezi has "sold out" to the government of which he remains a strong critic.

Inkatha has some ties with the ANC — Chief Buthelezi was once a member — but is also highly critical of the ANC's insurgency policies.

Chief Buthelezi also believes that the ANC has lost touch with the people of SA, the result, he says, of being in exile for so long.

Inkatha has a youth wing, the Youth Brigade, which has been criticised in the past for the violence which often occurs between them and members of the UDF.

IN SYSTEM POLITICS: Here we find the leaders of homeland authorities who have accepted "independence" from South Africa and the various political parties who participate in local township elections.

The Transkei, Ciskei, Venda, Bophuthatswana and Lebowa have opted for "independence" while various other self governing states have indicated they

wish to follow suit.

The more well known leaders of the homelands are Chief Matanzima of the Transkei, Chief Lennox Sebe of the Ciskei and Chief Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana.

On a local authority level there are various parties which work within the system and put up candidates for community council posts.

TARGETS

These men and women are often the targets of revolutionary elements because they are seen to have sold out to the government and accepted inferiority.

One of the most well known parties on a local government level which operates within the system is the Sofasonke Party of Soweto.

Though strictly non-political the Zion Christian Church (ZCC) has millions of adherents and this fact has not gone unnoticed by the Government. The powerful church is ultraconservative and there is little doubt that the Government would like to be able to count them on its side.

The recent address given by State President P W Botha at a mass meeting of the church may be the first of many.

NAMIBIA: The Namibian political scene is in many respects simpler to understand than that in South Africa. In other ways it is more complex.

The political picture in Namibia is far more racially integrated than in South Africa.

The Multi-Party Conference (MPC) which recently got the go-ahead from South Africa to set up a transitional government is a complex mixture of white conservatives and black socialists which is going to make governing a problem.

The main components of the MPC are the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), which is itself an alliance of 11 different ethnic groups, including the white Republican Party under the leadership of Mr Dirk

Mudge, the SWA National Union and the Swapo Democrats.

The other parties in the MPC are the National Party of SWA, the Labour Party (no connection with the SA Labour Party) and the Rehoboth Baster group.

The DTA is a conservative alliance with a free enterprise base while both the SWA National Union (Swanu), under Moses Katjuongua, and the Swapo-D's, under Andreas Shinganga, are inclined towards socialism.

There is also a dissident Swanu faction which broke away after the decision to join the MPC and various other parties who are mainly Swapo supporters. They include the Damarara Raad led by Justus Garoeb and the Namibian Christian Democratic Party under Hans Rohr.

The major political party which operates both in and outside Namibia is the South West African People's Organisation (Swapo) led by Sam Nujoma and there is little doubt they would win a general election hands down.

They probably wouldn't even have to fight an election campaign.

Swapo's main base support comes from the Owambos who make up more than half of the total population but it also has widespread support among other population groups — including white members and supporters.

Swapo, in itself, is not a guerrilla organisation, it is a national liberation movement and its insurgency campaign is carried out under the command of its military wing, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN).

PLAN is responsible for the day-to-day running of the insurgency war in northern Namibia while Swapo itself concentrates on political issues and winning international support for its cause.

There are also many small splinter groups operating in South African and Namibian politics.

All the groups fit together, somehow, to form the highly complex political picture in South Africa and Namibia.

But two major objectives run throughout.

In South Africa the common aim is change, real change, and the implementation of a one-man-one-vote universal franchise system.

In Namibia there is an even stronger bond which transcends all political differences: to get South Africa out of the territory.

AS THE long weeks of unrest in the black townships draw into months we can begin to see they mark a major change in the dynamics of political interaction between urban blacks and the ruling group in South Africa.

If and when the police and security forces succeed in restoring "order" and some semblance of "normality" to the strife-torn and smouldering townships in the Eastern Cape, Vaal and East Rand areas, it will not be possible simply to revert to the old administrative structures.

Even less will it be feasible to revive the political options which may have had some evolutionary potential before September, 1984 — in particular, that of black community councils.

If the government is somewhat belatedly waking up to the mistakes made in 1982 by introducing these councils without adequate sources of revenue or autonomous powers, then it is wishful thinking at this late date to assume that this might still be rectified in the circumstances brought about in black townships by the current strife.

Significantly different

As the most astute observers have already pointed out, the political unrest of the last few months has been far from a mindless and arbitrary rage. Instead, it shows a clear pattern, one which is significantly different from that of 1976-77.

In particular, the immediate objects of black anger and militant action tend to be different. It is not primarily aimed against the (white) authorities and the state — or even against whites generally.

Instead, the targets tend to be those within the black communities who have been prepared to co-operate with the ruling group: black community councillors, black policemen, black officials, black businessmen.

By all accounts this strategy has been most effective and in the country as a whole there appear to be a mere handful of community councils which are still operative to any extent.

Violence and intimidation

Public attention and comment has concentrated mainly on the political violence and intimidation involved but this can make us miss the more general significance of what is happening in black politics.

From a moral and humane point of view it is, of course, utterly deplorable when black councillors are killed and maimed, their houses and shops burnt down, their families intimidated and so

on — just as it is a national tragedy that so many civilian blacks, including many women and children, are shot dead or maimed by police action.

But our shock at these scenes of violence, such as the burnt bodies of the Uitenhage councillor and his sons shown repeatedly by TV in newscasts, should not obscure the new political reality which such scenes represent: this is the fate of those prepared to participate in government-imposed political structures for blacks.

What we are witnessing, at least as far as these black townships are concerned, is the final foundering of the policy of sectional co-optation.

For two decades and more the government's strategy in dealing with the aspirations of the majority of the South African population has basically been that of divide and rule coupled with the selective and progressive co-optation of various sectional elites.

As the experience of the homelands and national states has shown, a strategy of this kind can be quite effective even if it clearly lacks popular support.

As long as some kind of authority structure can be established, even if only tenuously linked to traditional tribal authorities or based on low and disputed electoral polls, and as long as it can be tied to the interests of certain key groupings such as black politicians, bureaucrats and traders, "separate development" can and has been sustained in the face of widespread unpopularity and resistance.

More recently the co-optation has been extended with some vigour to certain elite groups of the Indian and coloured communities. Though it is still too soon to assess the political workings of this new constitutional dispensation for these groups, the fact of the matter is that neither low electoral polls nor more militant protest and boycott campaigns have prevented the recruitment and installation of representatives in Parliament and even in the cabinet.

This leaves the urban black leadership.

As internal and external pressure for political reform grew in recent years, it also became clear that the urban black elites pro-

vided the logical candidate for the next round of co-optation.

In many ways these "insiders" are already set to share urban residential employment opportunities and standards of living and far in advance of that of the majority of rural blacks.

Though the formula for political co-optation of "urban insiders" at a level remained unclear, it was obvious that the level of community council provision did not provide the necessary infrastructure.

At the same time the obvious advantages in removing administrators and officials from the direct line of fire comes to unpopular rates such as raising township rates.

In principle the prospect of such a co-optation of the urban black elites, in the face of a similar lack of support, are as viable as has been in the other cases. — and this is the significance of the current unrest — aspects have been shattered

CALC TIMES
27/4/85

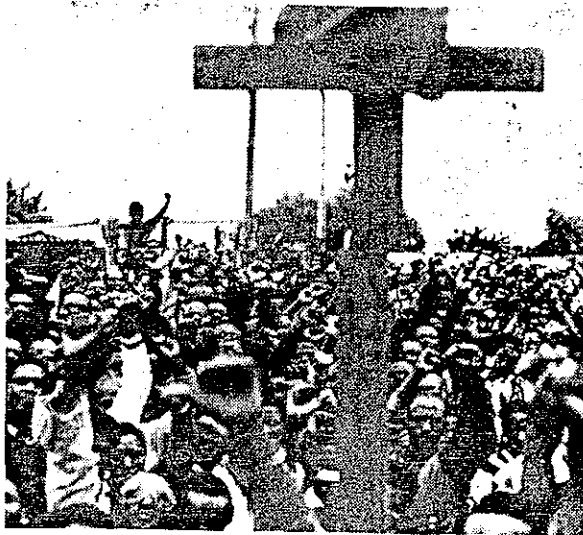
27/4/85
11A

POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE

By ANDRÉ DU TOIT



Unrest proves failure of co-optation policy



Unrest in the black townships . . . marking a major change in the dynamics of political interaction between urban blacks and the ruling group.

CARE Times
27/4/85

~~Handwritten scribbles~~

POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE
By ANDRÉ DU TOIT



Unrest proves failure of co-optation policy



Unrest in the black townships . . . marking a major change in the dynamics of political interaction between urban blacks and the ruling group.

It is a national tragedy for the civilian blacks, including women and children dead or maimed by the police. To look at these scenes of carnage as the burnt bodies of the village councillor and the woman repeatedly by TV, should not obscure the political reality which they represent: this is the government-imposed policies for blacks.

For decades and more the government's strategy in dealing with the African population has been that of divide and rule. The selective co-optation of the urban elites.

The experience of the home-ruled national states has shown that a strategy of this kind can be effective even if it clearly lacks support.

As long as some kind of authority structure can be established, even if only tenuously linked to traditional tribal authorities or based on low and disputed electoral polls, and as long as it can be tied to the interests of certain key groupings such as black politicians, bureaucrats and traders, "separate development" can and has been sustained in the face of widespread unpopularity and resistance.

More recently the co-optation has been extended with some vigour to certain elite groups of the Indian and coloured communities. Though it is still too soon to assess the political workings of this new constitutional dispensation for these groups, the fact of the matter is that neither low electoral polls nor more militant protest and boycott campaigns have prevented the recruitment and installation of representatives in Parliament and even in the cabinet.

This leaves the urban black leadership.

As internal and external pressure for political reform grew in recent years, it also became clear that the urban black elites pro-

vided the logical candidates for the next round of co-optation.

In many ways these "urban insiders" are already set apart: they share urban residential rights, employment opportunities and standards of living and schooling far in advance of that of the great majority of rural blacks.

Though the formula for the eventual political co-optation of these "urban insiders" at a national level remained unclear and problematic, it was obvious that at local level community councils should provide the necessary institutional infrastructure.

At the same time there are obvious advantages in removing white administrators and officials from the direct line of fire when it comes to unpopular measures such as raising township rents and rates.

In principle the prospects for such a co-optation of sections of the urban black elites, even in the face of a similar lack of popular support, are as viable as they have been in the other cases. In practice — and this is the significance of the current unrest — such prospects have been shattered.

Whatever the source and inspiration of political forces at work in the black townships may be, they have effectively countered the government's co-optation strategy. They have gone beyond the more traditional methods of non-cooperation and boycott and have resorted to direct and drastic action against the "collaborators".

The results have the makings of something analogous to the occupation syndrome of World War II. In themselves the resistance movements in France or the Netherlands never posed a major threat to the military might of the German occupation, but they greatly increased the personal cost and risk of those prepared to work with the occupying power.

Hard-headed assessment

The final aim was to make any form of civil government unfeasible.

Obviously, everything possible must be done to prevent things coming to such a pass in our own country but this requires a hard-headed and realistic assessment of the nature of present political realities.

It avails little for the government merely to stress how "moderates" in black communities have come under attack or to call on other "moderates" to come forward. In present circumstances that would be suicidal, politically and even literally.

As far as these black townships are concerned, the government's co-optation strategy has foundered. Political realism requires that alternative strategies now be explored.

Strategy foundered

In theory there is a growing realization in government circles of the need for negotiated political leadership with coherent constituencies and viable political organizations.

In the circumstances this must include community, student and trade union organizations which government spokesmen are increasingly branding as "the enemy".

The renewed speculation that the government might be preparing the ground for security action against the UDF or its leadership indicates a possible compounding of its present policy disaster.

The failure of its co-optation strategy means precisely that the government will no longer be able to "negotiate" with leaders of its own making and choice.

Whether or not security action might help in achieving the short-term ends of restoring law and order in black townships, it will only serve to cut the ground from under the political settlement needed in the longer term.

chin

How Dennis takes it all on the

W/L AREAS 27/1/05

(11A)

POLITICS

by JOHN MACLENNAN
Political Staff

reads what could be the
least opposition party with
least number of public
representatives in the world.

gets shouted down be-
he even opens his mouth;
comes emotional when the
g gets tough, and was
icly mauled this week by
ident P W Botha.

Dennis de la Cruz, Leader of
Democratic Workers' Party
in the House of Repre-
atives, is taking the strain
of the sort of load which
Suzman carried as the
essive Party's lone parlia-
mentary voice for so many
years. But there the similar-
end. So what goes on be-
those fatigue-smudged
eyes?

WHEN Mr De La Cruz is not taking it on the chin in a political sense you will find him buried in paperwork in a small ground floor office in the old Senate Building, which he shares with his secretary.

The former athlete — he did the 100 yards in 10.4 back in '60 and would have had an international career but for apartheid — is of medium height and doesn't have the flab you associate with politicians in their forties. He is nervous as he answers questions, bends paper clips into impossible shapes.

"Quite frankly," he says, "they expect our party to do the work of 20." "Our party" refers to himself and two other members of the DWP in the House of Representatives who could hold their caucus meetings in a telephone booth.

"The work" refers to all the portfolios they have to monitor among them, all the legislation they have to study, all the standing committees they have to attend. In addition to this they are expected to make meaningful and well-researched speeches.

□□□□□

He admits it is an impossible task. In the White House the load is spread among 27 MP's of the Official Opposition. In the Indian House of Delegates the task is handled by the 17 members of Solidarity.

This former school principal from Ottery in the Cape has specific responsibility to speak on national education, home affairs, health and welfare, and manpower. As leader of the DWP he also handles the State President's portfolio, develop-

ment and planning, foreign affairs and the Budget.

Confronting him across the floor are 75 vocal Labour Party members who tend to interject at every phrase when he rises to speak.

"Sometimes 24 hours is too little for me. You go to bed with your head full of ideas and formulas. But you don't go to sleep until the early hours. You have to be at it all the time. The last three months (since the tricameral system's inception) have tested me to the limit. It's been a great drain spiritually and mentally."

He can call on the services of two secretaries and one researcher to help him do his job. He is also in touch with other opposition parties for statistics, research and plain old political advice — particularly the PFP

which has a most efficient research unit and years of experience in dealing with the ruling Nationalists.

□□□□□

"I will even be happy to speak to the Conservatives," he says, but denies there is any grand opposition collusion in Parliament — even though the motions of no confidence of the Official Opposition in the White House as well as those in the Indian and Coloured houses were virtually identical down to word-usage earlier this year.

In addition to lacking solid Parliamentary representation it is a moot question of how much voter backing they have. Mr De La Cruz came in on a percentage poll of nine per cent for the People's Congress Party, subsequently split with part of the PCP executive to

form the brand new DWP. He in fact doesn't know how many supporters they have.

□□□□□

Ask Mr De La Cruz how effective he has been and he makes two points. One is that President Botha spent a major portion of a speech attacking him when he spoke in the House of Representatives this week. "If he spends all his time getting hold of me it is proof that what I have said had meaning to it and he had to reply."

His second defence is that, if anything, the majority Labour Party is even less effective. "The fact that they challenged the PFP is proof that they are on the side of the Government."

He also believes the President was very harsh on him to



Dennis de la Cruz ... fighter.

no good purpose. "I can't believe that he actually heard what I had to say because I agreed with him on certain points."

For refuge and a change he goes on long walks, plays bowls, takes the Reader's Digest and involves himself with the family he dotes on. He is the father of four children including beauty queen Jackie whose newspaper pictures adorn his office wall and "laait lammetjie" Juan ("we are of Spanish descent, you know").

So why is he subjecting himself to what is clearly a very unpleasant experience? He believes he has a duty to be there and that the new system is working.

"We are beginning to find each other. The standing committees, especially, are very

important. I see them as joint mini-sittings. Over the next five years we will dismantle all the discriminatory legislation and then we - Whites, Indians and Coloureds - will reach an accommodation with the blacks."

In the meantime he is on a course of anti-depressants prescribed by his doctor and getting through life day by day and by the grace of God.

"I am a born again believer and it is purely my faith which gets me into the chamber and onto my feet."

CAPE TIMES
27/4/85
11A

Court hears of AK ammo

Court Reporter

TWO men who had AK47 ammunition in their pockets and who had earlier been in touch with one of the accused in a South African terror trial, were arrested in Bophuthatswana on September 26, 1984, the Hermanus regional court heard this week.

This was said in evidence by a witness in the trial of Mr Mpumelolo Shadrack Ndlakuhlolo, 29, a teacher, and Margaret Ndlawanla Mfobo, 36, a hairdresser, both from Guguletu, on various charges including plotting to overthrow the security of the state.

The witness, a Tswana-speaking alien whose identity and occupation may not be disclosed by order of the court, said another two men, who had four AK47 rifles and magazines in bags, were detained on the other side of the border in Botswana on the same day.

Helicopter

The Botswana Police had refused to hand the men over to police on the Bophuthatswana side, the witness said, and the men were fetched by security police in a helicopter.

The accused, who have been in detention for six months, are charged with:

- Contravening the Internal Security Act by being members of the ANC and furthering its aims.

- Endangering or attempting to overthrow the authority of the State or instigating a number of people to do so.

- Possessing 34 copies of pamphlets which propagated the aims of the ANC.

- Charges including disruption of industries, the supply of light and water, health and education, television and radio broadcasts, endangering buildings and impairing free movement of transport on land, sea and air.

Another witness said she had known Miss Mfobo for 25 years.

Mxtolise

She told the court that they had gone to visit someone referred to throughout the trial as Mxtolise, who had disappeared after the 1976 riots, in Botswana.

A friend of Mxtolise had told Miss Mfobo and herself that they were members of both the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) and the ANC.

She said she had received parcels addressed to Mr Ndlakuhlolo one of which contained a photo of Mxtolise and a man named Ben, who was later referred to in court as one of the men arrested in Bophuthatswana.

She had understood that this was to be used to obtain Transkeian passports.

A Guguletu "businessman" (who may not be identified) who frequently travelled to Botswana to buy mandrax tablets, told the court Mxtolise had given him photos of himself and his friend and asked him to get Transkeian passports for them which he did.

The trial was adjourned until July 15.

Mr J van Graan was on the bench. Mr WC Viljoen appears for the State. Mr Omar appeared for both accused. He was instructed by Mr R Vassen and Mr Y Ebrahim.

P W Botha rejects Slabbert's ANC offer

CMB-TWA
27/4/85
N/A

PRESIDENT P W Botha last night rejected an offer by the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, to mediate in talks between the South African Government and the banned African National Congress.

"I cannot accept that, because I cannot allow anyone to talk on my behalf to an organization supporting violence, just as I am not prepared to talk to any organization supporting violence," Mr Botha said in a statement released in Cape Town last night.

Dr Slabbert said last night he was disappointed at the State President's reaction.

"I would have preferred that the channels of communication were left open, particularly if one keeps in mind that the State President and his government managed to woo Samora Machel from the Russians by means of the Nkomati Accord and that in Namibia, Swapo externally pursues the policy of violence while being allowed to operate internally as a political party," he said.

Moscow

"Surely it's not beyond the ingenuity of all of us inside South Africa committed to peaceful and constitutional change to woo the ANC away from the alleged control of Moscow and the Soviet Union.

"I never offered to speak on behalf of the South African Government, only to act as a go-between in order to es-

tablish whether negotiations are possible," Dr Slabbert said.

"It would be disastrous if we had to repeat the old familiar pantomime of postures and counterpostures that took place in Rhodesia before it became Zimbabwe, and in Mozambique."

Reiterating his offer to all political leaders who renounced violence to join a forum for discussion on the constitutional future of non-home-land blacks, Mr Botha said:

Govt's hand

"I now appeal to all South Africans who oppose violence to strengthen the hand of the government in order to ensure orderly government and economic prosperity for our country."

The State President said he had made it very clear that he was prepared to talk to people and organizations who rejected violence.

"I made it very clear that I am prepared to talk to everyone who seeks political development in South Africa in an evolutionary way. The ANC is a tool of Soviet Russia. I said in Parliament that in the end it doesn't really matter whether or not the SA Communist Party or the ANC will be the dominating factor.

"I refer to the admission by Joe Slovo that the ANC has over the years received considerable support from the Soviet Union and that the Communist Party similarly occupies a cherished and unique position within the ANC.

"The ANC has in turn infiltrated the UDF in various ways. They influence each other to overthrow the government by means of violence, to establish a dictatorship and to abolish and replace the SADF and the police force with forces of their own.

"According to their own admission their present strategy is to make the country ungovernable.

"Yesterday I learned that the leader of the Official Opposition wants to act as mediator.

"I cannot accept that because I cannot allow anyone to talk on my behalf to an organization supporting violence, just as I am not prepared to talk to any organization supporting violence.

"I accept that the leader of the Opposition will equally distance himself from the idea of negotiation with the Communist Party or the ANC and the UDF under such circumstances." — Sapa and Staff Reporter

^{CALL T-115}
Protest: UDF
^{27/4/81}
six in court (11A)

Court Reporter

SIX members of the United Democratic Front appeared in the Regional Court yesterday on charges of attending an illegal gathering in Eisleben Road, Mitchells Plain, on July 6 last year.

Mrs Theresa Solomons, 38, Miss Lucille Meyer, 23, Miss Belinda Newan, 18, Miss Sharon Davids, 20, Mr Faick Rhode, 21, and Mr Basil Masahapi, 24, all of Mitchells Plain, pleaded not guilty.

The State alleges that each stood at lamposts, 40 to 50 metres apart, holding placards opposing the August 22 elections.

The hearing was adjourned to June 11.

Mr J C L Botha was the magistrate. Mr G P Jordaan was the prosecutor. Mr A M Omar, instructed by Mr R Vassen, defended.

P W says no to talks with ANC

CAPE TOWN—President Botha has rejected an offer by the leader of the Opposition, Dr van Zyl Slabbert, to mediate in talks between the South African Government and the banned African National Congress.

'I cannot accept that, because I cannot allow anyone to talk on my behalf to an organisation supporting violence, just as I am not prepared to talk to any organisation supporting violence,' Mr Botha said in a statement released here last night.

— Reiterating his offer to all political leaders who renounced violence to join a forum for discussion on the constitutional future of non-homeland blacks, Mr Botha said:

'I now appeal to all South Africans who oppose violence to strengthen the hand of the Government in order to ensure orderly government and economic prosperity for our country.'

The State President said he had made it very clear that he was prepared to talk to people

and organisations who rejected violence.

'I made it very clear that I am prepared to talk to everyone who seeks political development in South Africa in an evolutionary way. The ANC is a tool of Soviet Russia.

'I said in Parliament that in the end it doesn't really matter whether or not the S A Communist Party or the ANC will be the dominating factor.' — (Sapa)

~~2088A~~ 11A NM 27/4/85

Tutu asked to arrange 'truce'

11A G. Tumbi
28/4/85

By STEPHAN TERBLANCHE

A BROODING war between the mainly black political groupings, the United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organisation, has caused such violence and bitterness that Bishop of Johannesburg Desmond Tutu has been asked to call a peace summit.

Shortly before being arrested by Security Branch policemen this week, Mr Terror Lekota, publicity secretary of the UDF denied that there was any friction between the two organisations.

But the vice-president of Azapo, George Wauchope, said the facts told a different story.

He listed a series of attacks on members of his organisation, warning that it seemed the UDF had embarked on a witch hunt against Azapo and that "members of Azapo will have to defend themselves".

The black community in South Africa has in recent weeks seen much division and bloodshed, starting in the Eastern Cape and elsewhere with the killing of black community councillors accused of being sell-outs and government collaborators.

The divisions have spread to groupings who until now have shared the same side of the political line in their opposition to the present political system.

Even Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha movement has been drawn into the battle.

This week Bishop Tutu, Nobel Peace Prize winner and a patron of both move-



DESMOND TUTU
Peace summit

ments, was asked to call an urgent meeting between the warring groups.

"I was asked whether I would call such a meeting and am considering it, but I have not approached anybody," said Bishop Tutu.

Speaking from Durban this week hours before his arrest, Mr Lekota said he was unaware that the UDF was at war with Azapo.

"Azapo is opposed to apartheid and so are we.

Tactics

"There is no need for Azapo to feel threatened by us. We are fighting on the same side. It is only at the level of tactics that we differ."

Azapo is a Black Consciousness movement which believes whites have no role to play in its struggle towards a socialist workers' republic, whereas the UDF is a multi-racial affiliation of organisations opposed to apartheid and which adheres to the ANC Freedom Charter.

Referring to reported incidents where Azapo members

had been harassed at the Uitenhage funeral of unrest victims last week, Mr Lekota said that "nobody had interfered with any Azapo members".

Azapo vice-president, Mr Wauchope, differed strongly from Mr Lekota.

"The catalogue of incidents since Azapo was formed suggests otherwise.

"As early as 1981 there was friction between us when they disrupted one of our meetings," he said.

"There will come a stage when my people will have to defend themselves. It seems this whole thing is orchestrated from higher up in the UDF."

Arrogant

Mr Wauchope also accused the UDF of being arrogant about the country's problems.

He listed at least nine incidents since 1981 when Azapo meetings had been disrupted, in which Azapo members had their T-shirts torn off and had been physically attacked.

Mr Wauchope said these attacks were always carried out by Azaso (Azanian Students' Organisation), the UDF student wing, or by people wearing UDF T-shirts.

Most of the attacks were on members of Azasm (Azanian Students' Movement), the student wing of Azapo.

The latest occurred this week at the University of the North when three Azapo members were attacked when addressing a student crowd.

In another incident not related to Azapo, Inkatha members were attacked by UDF members in Nigel this week.

UDF 16 HEAR THEIR 'CRIMES'

(11A) ~~CP~~ C. Press 28/4/85
THE 16 UDF leaders appeared in court yesterday to hear for the first time what the State claims they have done which is treasonable. But while they listened to the Deputy Attorney-General giving the magistrate details about the Supreme Court trial, he began to faint — and one of the 16, Dr Essop Jassat, rushed from the dock to attend to him.

As he was speaking beads of sweat ran down Mr Gey von Pittius' face, and he turned ashen white.

CP Correspondent

Dr Jassat told City Press that he had had a vaso vagal attack — a fainting fit — often brought on by heat and stress.

The court was immediately adjourned for Mr Von Pittius to get further attention, when it became clear he could not continue.

As the magistrate left the court, Mr Von Pittius began to sway. Dr Jassat rushed passed his co-accused to Mr Von Pittius.

After Mr Von Pittius was helped from the court, the three volume indictment was served on the 16 — for the first time informing them of their alleged crimes.

The State claims that the ANC, the SA Communist Party and the SA Congress of Trade Unions have jointly conspired to work together in a grouping called by the State "The Revolutionary Alliance".

Its aim, claim the State, is the overthrow of the State by means of a violent or other unlawful means, with the ultimate aim of an armed seizing of power by "The Revolutionary Alliance" led by the ANC.

The State also claims that the Freedom Charter is regarded by "The Revolutionary Alliance" as its political program and policy document, and that the "Alliance" believes the principles of the Charter can only be implemented in the country through a violent revolution.

"The Revolutionary Alliance" also aims to use or encourage "non-violent forms of struggle" which have the aim of creating a climate favouring the "Alliance".

These non-violent methods include strikes, boycotts, demonstrations, "mass mobilisation and politicisation of all the people", calling for political prisoners to be unconditionally released and calling for the return of leaders in exile.

The "Alliance" also encourages its agent organisations to make the Freedom Charter more popular, to popularise the leaders of the "Alliance" and to popularise "people's organisations".

All 16 of the trialists are alleged to belong to organisations which share the aim of "The Revolutionary Alliance".

Inkatha explodes at PFP report

28/4/85

11A
~~11A~~
C. Pers

CP Correspondent

THE USUALLY good relations between the white Progressive Federal Party and Inkatha took a hammering during the last week — and observers believe it could leave permanent scars.

During the free-for-all:

● KwaZulu Chief Minister Gatsha Buthelezi demanded that PFP leader Frederick van Zyl Slabbert come to Ulundi to explain his party's behaviour, and accused him of implying that Chief Buthelezi was "a bloody kaffir". He said Inkatha could not be treated like a prostitute — "fondled during the night and kept in darkness during the day".

● KwaZulu Interior Minister Dennis Madide said that if the PFP did not retract certain allegations, they would have "murdered Inkatha politically".

Dr Slabbert retailed, saying he thought there was a "disguised threat" behind the public attack on him and he did not

believe he needed to "ingratiate himself with anyone in order to be 'a good whitey'".

The argument is over a PFP report, issued after an inspection of the Uitenhage massacre site.

The PFP claimed "there was tremendous resentment among Uitenhage Xhosas at the fact that 'Gatsha impis' or the 'Shakas' as they were called, were being used against them".

Chief Buthelezi claimed it implied he was responsible for the killings.

The PFP have been at pains to point out that they were simply reporting claims they had heard in Uitenhage — but their explanations have not satisfied the Inkatha leadership.

Chief Buthelezi might have "misunderstood the situation and over-reacted", Dr Slabbert suggested.

Chief Buthelezi retorted that for Dr Slabbert to say this was just another way of calling him "a bloody kaffir".

A NATIONAL mass meeting to try and stop unrest that has spread throughout the country — recently causing black-on-black confrontation — will be held next week.

Nobel Peace prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu agreed to host the meeting — seen as a last-minute attempt to bring sanity in the townships.

The recent violent clashes between members of two ideologically different political organisations — the United Democratic Front (and its affiliate the Azanian Students' Organisation) and the Azanian People's Organisation (and its affiliate the Azanian Students' Movement) — has also prompted the unity talks.

The meeting is expected to be the biggest ever held bringing together students, parents, church leaders and political organisations from different persuasions.

The venue and date will be decided this weekend. Bishop Tutu said he was consulting various people about it.

"Tell everybody who is concerned about what is happening around us to be patient — I'm arranging with various people for the talks," said the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg.

He said unity has always been a crucial matter in the liberation struggle.

"But never more so than now — we are caught in a spiral of violence and see confrontation between blacks," he said.

At a mass funeral of unrest victims in Uitenhage, Bishop Tutu also appealed to more than 100 000 mourners not to kill each other even if people differed in their politics.

The meeting will probably be held in Soweto. Inkatha members — who in the past have been left out of these talks — will also be invited.

Some of the incidents in which members of different political organisations clashed violently were:

- Four Azasm members, including publicity secretary Kabelo Lengane, were allegedly assaulted by Azaso members at Turfloop University last October.
- At Ngoye University Inkatha members allegedly invaded the

EXCLUSIVE

By KHULU SIBIYA

'Only unity can free us from this bloody chaos'



campus, wielding kieres and other weapons and attacked Azaso members.

- Five students were killed and several injured.
- Incidents were reported of UDF members stopping Azapo members from attending the Uitenhage funeral.
- Azapo, Cosas and Azaso members openly clashed in Tembisa recently.
- And this week, Azasm and Azaso fought bitterly at Turfloop University over the booking of the hall for a meeting.

Bishop Tutu is seen by many as the only person who can bring the warring factions together.

In the past, several church leaders tried unsuccessfully to bring the organisations together.

Although it was agreed at the meeting to bury the hatchet, the two organisations have been at each other's throats at mass meetings.

The success of the planned unity meeting depends on these organisations.

See Percy's Itch — Page 4

Tutu hosts peace talks

Cathy Davis

UDF

28/4/85

NO ONE CAN STOP US — UDF

71A
C. Press
28/4/85

600 DAYS
of the United Democratic Front

Khulu Sibiya

I AM writing this now because it may be the last time I can freely quote the United Democratic Front's leaders and explain the organisation's aims.

Detentions were no big shock

Comment by KHULU SIBIYA

THE Government's crackdown on the United Democratic Front leadership was predictable.

I told you so in last week's edition of City Press, and said it may be the last time we are able to quote its leaders.

There are also clear indications that the organisation may be banned — stopping us from explaining their aims.

The detention of Popo Molefe, Terror Lekota and Moss Chikane — all leading UDF officials — was on the cards after President PW Botha's speech in the House of Assembly last week.

Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange made a scathing attack on the UDF, only hours after the detention of the three leaders.

The men have been linked to investigations into last year's unrest in the Vaal Triangle.

But a UDF spokesman said their detention was an attempt by the State to ensure that the New Zealand All Blacks rugby tour goes on.

The three are believed to be held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, which allows for indefinite detention.

The UDF, however, has vowed to carry on with its opposition to the New Zealand rugby tour — "despite the detentions and harassment" of its leaders.

In last week's edition we pointed out that Mr Botha was particularly unhappy about the UDF's "link with the banned African National Congress".

He said in Parliament: "This state of affairs cannot be accepted. I know I have the majority of South Africans supporting me if I say the Government will not abdicate to these forces."

THE campaign against the All Blacks tour will go ahead — despite the Government's apparent attempt to crush the protest by detaining prominent anti-tour activists.

The UDF has issued a statement condemning the detention of Patrick "Terror" Lekota, Popo Molefe and Moss Chikane on Tuesday.

UDF Natal publicity officer Lechesa Tsenoli said there was no way the anti-tour campaign would be stopped by this week's police action.

CP Correspondent

"The protest will go ahead — because we are representatives of our people and they are totally against the tour," he said.

If the detentions were calculated to ensure the success of the rugby tour, it was a self-defeating decision. It will not stop our people from continuing the campaign.

The UDF's determined words come after the Government issued a "guarantee" about the safety of the touring party — with Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange saying neither protests nor demonstrations against the tour would be allowed.

He said the UDF had openly stated they would be holding peaceful de-

monstrations. "I have never seen a peaceful demonstration," he said.

His assurance was given after New Zealand Rugby Union officials said they would call off the tour if there was any danger to the touring side in South Africa.

Lekota, the UDF's publicity secretary, stressed that the planned protests would be peaceful.

Mr Lekota was detained during a nationally co-ordinated security police swoop.

He had flown from Durban to Port Elizabeth with UDF executive chairman Curnick Ndlovu on Tuesday morning.

When he arrived in Port Elizabeth, he was detained by police. He was later taken to Johannesburg, where he is being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Mr Molefe also planned to fly to Port Elizabeth on Tuesday morning.

He was picked up before he could leave Johannesburg.

Former UDF Transvaal regional secretary Moss Chikane was detained at his home.

Virtually all the 1984 UDF national executive members are now behind bars. Other UDF leaders are being held in Durban, awaiting their trial.

'Move threats'

Hostel dwellers unite

Nat-ANC talks a matter of time

Sowetan 29/11/85
THE question of violence has scuppered talks for the immediate future between the Government and the ANC, but observers believe a simple diplomatic formula can and will be found to satisfy both sides and clear the way for negotiations.

The possibility of talks seemed closer than ever this week as ANC head Oliver Tambo announced the outlawed body was willing to discuss the country's constitutional future with the Government. He did so without setting any of the usual pre-conditions — such as the release of Nelson Mandela or the legalisation of the ANC.

But he refused to renounce violence, the main weapon in the ANC arsenal, because he believes it is essential

as a lever to rid the country of apartheid.

President Botha has, as result, rejected the offer of the Leader of the Opposition, Dr van Zyl Slabbert, to act as a go-between.

Observers do not believe a deadlock exists and see this exchange as initial power plays between two sides which have to identify common political ground for negotiation.

One such expert is Professor H W van der Merwe, who has extensive ANC contacts and heads UCT's Centre for Intergroup Studies. One easy way out of the impasse, he notes, is for the ANC to "suspend" violence during talks as in a ceasefire. This route would likely satisfy President Botha, lead to

low level exploratory talks and avoid compromising the ANC.

Not is he surprised that President Botha has spurned Dr Slabbert's offer, even though he has the highest regard for the Opposition leader's integrity. "I believe a third party could play an important role (in getting the talks off the ground), but I doubt that one political party could accept a member of another political party as a neutral broker."

He said he was aware Nelson Mandela had agreed to suspend violence and said he backed National Party MP Wynand Malan's assessment that the time was ripe for unofficial talks now and official talks in

about a year or two.

In the meantime Dr Slabbert has expressed his disappointment over the Government's stance.

In an interview, Dr Slabbert said he had offered his services because he believed it necessary that talks should start, and not because he necessarily believed he had the best credentials for the job.

He added that he could not see how peace could be achieved unless there was a willingness to negotiate on both sides.

On the question of violence, he pointed out that the Government was already negotiating indirectly with Swapo, an organisation which espouses violence, on the future of Namibia.

15 LAID TO REST

(LIA) Sowetan (SAPS) 29/4/85

POPULAR and progressive civic organisations had taken control of Cradock and Uitenhage, and soon Port Elizabeth townships would follow suite, Mr Stone Sizani, publicity secretary of the Eastern Cape regional committee of the United Democratic Front, said in Zwide yesterday.

He was addressing more than 50 000 mourners at the combined funeral service of 15 unrest victims at Dan Qeque Stadium.

Mr Sizani said the State President, Mr P W Botha, should not form other municipalities for "puppet" bodies like community councils.

"We want one municipality for all people in these areas. In fact we demand representation on provincial and central government for all the people of this country," he said.

Mr Sizani said the UDF embraced the aspirations of

SA PRESS ASSOCIATION

the people, and these had been identified and made known to the international community — "including the Pretoria regime".

He said the people called on New Zealand's All Blacks not to come to South Africa.

"If they do come they must know we will hold them responsible for any bloodshed that might result from their presence in South Africa.

Reply

"We have told them this and their reply was that they did not care — they would come." come."

He said he was not surprised that three UDF leaders — national general secretary Mr Popo Molefe, national publicity secretary Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, and Mr Moses Chikane, a top UDF activist — had been arrested.

Mr Sizani said 16 UDF leaders were facing treason charges.

"The State President, Mr P

W Botha, keeps on telling the world that nobody is in jail for opposing apartheid. But we all know there are people in jail now for their opposition to this monster and some have spent more than 20 years in prison for similar reasons."

Mr Sizani said the UDF was a non-violent organisation.

He called on the Government to release all the people's leaders and bring back those in exile so an acceptable constitution could be mapped out.

"As the Government-created town councils crumble, our civic bodies are growing," he said.

A handful of whites, including Mrs Molly Blackburn, MPC for Walmer, received a standing ovation as they entered the stadium.

On three occasions members of the Defence Force and police in Caspiers and patrol trucks drove past.

Mobs of mourners singing freedom songs and chanting slogans invaded the townships after the graveside service — Sapa.

SOWETAN

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Fun fills the Valley

THOUSANDS of people from all over the Transvaal and other areas attended the United Democratic Front (UDF) Peoples' Festival at the Fun Valley pleasure resort yesterday.

From early morning people were streaming into the resort, about 15km out of Johannesburg. A look at the number plates of cars showed people from nearly every town in the Transvaal were present.

UDF colours and skippers were in abundance and by midday the place was chockful of fun lovers. Women were dressed in kaftans — summerwear to bid the

By **THABISO LESHOI**

Sowetan 29/4/85
farewell — while some men sported bare chests, sun visors and skimpy vests. *29/4/85*

In the main arena, near the stage, it was the best time to listen to; or rather, hear music. There was little beer selling at this time.

A speech celebrating the International Year of Youth was lost to bad elocution and an indifferent crowd. The Garment and Allied Worker's Union member, Sydney Mafumane, gave

a rousing speech that had a tight knot of cheerers near the stage yelling, "speak, speak."

Carlos Djedje had appeared heading a fine and tight reggae group with Sipho Gumede and Khaya Mahlangu following with original Sakhile tunes and a very fine opening tune.

By 1pm Thetha was getting on stage and more people were pouring in and milling around the pleasure resort. UDF marshalls too were everywhere in evidence in their T-shirts and stickers, turning the afternoon into a mammoth political graffiti concert.



FESTIVAL: Part of the crowd at the UDF people's festival at Fun Valley yesterday.

Rotha urged to release leaders

Unwanted ANC finally gets out of Swaziland

DONALD KNOWLER of The Argus Africa News Service reports from Mbabane on the final departure from South Africa's tiny neighbour of the ANC's last guerilla remnants

THE African National Congress of South Africa appears to have been finally "neutralised" in Swaziland after a long drawn-out battle between the guerilla group and the Swaziland government.

ANC-related activity in the tiny kingdom has steadily wound down following a bloody clash between the South African nationalist movement and the Swazi police late last year.

The assassination of the deputy chief of the Swazi security police — which was blamed on the ANC — resulted in known ANC activists in Swaziland being rounded up, sometimes in gunfights, or forced to flee the country.

According to Swazi sources, the ANC top men in the country fled to Tanzania and Zambia after the Swazi Government issued a "wanted list" of 23 ANC personnel. The list was issued after 11 ANC suspects had been arrested and it is now believed a number of these were deported, with the rest accepting political asylum on the condition they did not engage in political activity.

Although many Swazis — particularly the younger generation — give moral support to the ANC, Swazis have grown increasingly critical of the movement in recent years for bringing violence to the country.

"The problem with the freedom fighters is that people are getting caught in the middle," said a young Swazi waiter at a top tourist hotel here.

He was referring to the latest round-up of ANC members and a shoot-out between an ANC guerilla and Swazi police officers, resulting in the death of a child caught in the crossfire.

"The liberation struggle must be fought in South Africa, not in Swaziland. We are not a part of South Africa," said the waiter.

A general view in Swaziland is that the ANC has overstayed its welcome and most people have no regrets about seeing them depart the country.

Strained relations between the Swazi government and South African exiles became apparent at the time of the Soweto riots in 1976, when many young people fled the South African townships for both Swaziland and Botswana.

The Swazi Government, as did the Botswana authorities, rounded the students up and created refugee centres for them. The ANC and PAC were invited to take to other countries those pupils wanting to sign up with a nationalist movement and the remaining children were treated as refugees.

Although nationalist activity was frowned on by both governments, ANC members still managed to remain in the countries.

Some of the children who fled South Africa in the winter of 1976 have since returned as fully-fledged guerillas, say Swazi sources.

One such man was 26-year-old Jabulani Ngcobo, alleged by Swazi police to be the ANC "hit man" responsible for the assassination of the security policeman, Superintendent Petros Shiba.

In follow-up operations, the police and army raided known ANC "safe houses" and located a large cache of arms, which included AK-47 assault rifles and limpet mines.

In one house they found Ngcobo and he was later cornered in a dry river bed and shot.

Although the Swazis identified Ngcobo as Superintendent Shiba's murderer, there is doubt expressed in some Swazi circles about ANC involvement in the killing.

There is a theory the ANC presence here might have encouraged Swazis to settle a few "old scores," knowing the ANC would be blamed for any violent acts.

Superintendent Shiba was shot as he drove away from the police officers' mess in Mbabane, after attending a Christmas function.

Another incident in Swaziland has raised questions about the official version of events.

Early this year a group of ANC suspects was released from a prison in Mbabane, by men claiming to represent the ANC.

The ANC suspects, and the raiders, have not been heard of since and at the time there were rumours in Swaziland that perhaps the police themselves might have taken the suspects, possibly to be handed over to the South African authorities.

A similar incident happened in April last Year, and four "freed" ANC suspects were not heard of again.

Chief for unity indaba

CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, supports a meeting called by the Right Rev Desmond Tutu between major political groups in the country to defuse the in-fighting among the organisations.

In a statement released to The SOWETAN, Chief Buthelezi said: "The bishop's call for the meeting is a very responsible call. Befitting a man of God and befitting him also as the Nobel Peace Prize winner."

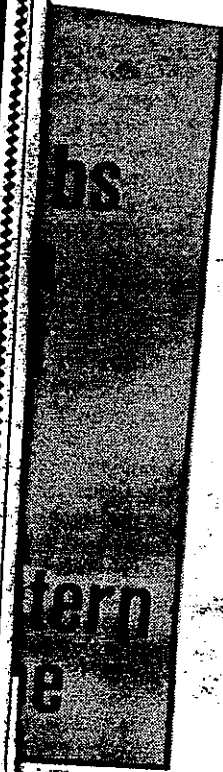
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Meeting

Although the meeting is scheduled for tomorrow night at the Ipelegeng Community Centre in White City Jabavu, Soweto, the Azanian People's Organisation late yesterday said they had not received an invitation.

Bishop Tutu announced last week that he was planning the meeting after reports that organisations were regrouping and there were fears that an all-out war may result between supporters of the groups.

This came after about 11 people were injured at a confrontation between members of the Azanian Students Movement and Azanian Students Organisation at the University of the North last week.



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A spokesman for the United Democratic Front yesterday said they had received the invitation and had agreed to attend.

The SOWETAN could not contact Bishop Tutu to find out if Azapo had been invited.

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Is there a democratic alternative to black majority rule?

RDM 30/4/85

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IT IS particularly sad that the Rand Daily Mail, which has tried so hard for a quarter of a century to promote the concept of political reform, should be closing down just as South Africa is being forced by a formidable combination of pressures to face up to certain crucial questions that can no longer be held in suspense.

These are:

- What is the ultimate political dispensation towards which reform is heading?
- How, given the country's population structure, can the white minority share power equitably without surrendering it in time to the massive black majority?
- Is there, in fact, a democratic, mutually acceptable alternative to black majority rule?

This is the essence, the core, the heart of the South African dilemma and the new negotiating forum arising out of the enlarged special Cabinet committee on constitutional reform will have to come to grips with it.

With black unrest becoming more persistent, more widespread and more violent than ever before, the matter is now extremely urgent.

The Leader of the Opposition, Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, points out that without a coherent reform programme embodying stated goals, the Government is having to seek stability (law and order) through coercion, whereas the only durable stability must be based on consensus (the consent of the governed).

The Government, so sure of itself all these years since it won power in 1948, no longer pretends it has all the answers and has emphasised its willingness to listen to all points of view that exclude violence.

As the annual report of the Director-General of Co-operation and Development, just issued, puts it: "... it is essential that precedence be given to the development of the necessary political structures to meet the political needs and aspirations of the various black nations in South Africa".

Quite so. In short, the subject is now before us — and wide open.

Until fairly recently, the political debate has swirled round such issues as the pass laws, influx control, group areas, forced removals, detentions without trial, trade unionism for blacks, the opening of public amenities to all races, multi-racial sport and so on.

These are important, but secondary, issues and they leave the primary issue of white-black political rights still to be properly addressed.

Oddly enough, when the debate has touched on it now and again it has tended to turn aside, as if afraid to uncover too awful a prospect.

That is because the logical end of the process



LAURENCE GANDAR... "Clearly there is now some reluctance simply to specify black majority rule as the solution for South Africa's problems"

LAURENCE GANDAR, former Editor of the Mail

This is hardly surprising in view of the record of black rule in Africa which, with only a handful of exceptions, has been dismal indeed, ranging from brutal authoritarianism to gross administrative incompetence leading to mass poverty and starvation.

Today Black Africa is a mess — the world's number one humanitarian headache.

But while the majority of whites tend to see this as proof of black peoples' shortcomings, blacks themselves have a different perception of the matter.

They speak of their perfunctory preparation for self-government by the former colonial powers, of the artificial national boundaries resulting from the big African

tatorships of yesteryear to more democratic forms of government or to restructure their chaotic, inflation-riven economies.

So it is understandable that most blacks support the principle of majority rule, though some do entertain considerable doubts about it.

But if, it is argued, the world has conceded the principle to the rest of Africa, why should black South Africans be required to accept something less when they are generally acknowledged to be better educated, more economically advanced and more sophisticated than most other blacks on the continent.

And besides, what blacks in Africa, despite their hardships and setbacks, would choose the return to their status of colonial times. If one is going to be messed around or bossed about, it's better if it's by one's own kind than by aliens of a different race.

At what stage, then, is South Africa as the big indaba on its future gets under way? Some useful gains have been made, such as general recognition of the following:

- Race discrimination is untenable and must be dismantled.
- All must enjoy adequate human and civil rights and must have an effective voice in the decision-making processes affecting their interests.
- Separate development has failed in its main purpose of securing the future of so-called white South Africa and also the black homelands which remain impossibly fragmented, economically dependent on South Africa and internationally unrecognised.

● Thus a common citizenship for all living within the "old" recognised boundaries of South Africa has become necessary.

● Finally, any new political dispensation must be worked out in consultation with all the different population groups and not imposed by one group on the others.

The implications of these gains are considerable.

This is not to say that the road ahead is not strewn with immense obstacles. Indeed it is.

Not only are the various population groups of widely different cultures and at widely differing levels of education, economic development and political sophistication, but it is evident that the ruling white group still holds firmly to many if not most of its traditional attitudes.

This applies particularly to the key question of which community leaders it is prepared or not prepared to consult. The State President's sharp attack on the United Democratic Front is not a hopeful sign in this regard.

In a nutshell, the daunting task is to reconcile "full and equal participation of all in the political process" with, on the one hand, the historical fact of white minority

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Oddly enough, when the debate has touched on it now and again it has tended to turn aside, as if afraid to uncover too awful a prospect.

That is because the logical end of the process has seemed all too likely to be black majority rule and this is something few whites (or coloureds and Indians for that matter) can bring themselves to contemplate with equanimity.

Even our main overseas critics have become more guarded in their demands upon us. The 10 heads of government of the European Economic Community meeting in Brussels earlier this month, stated that what they wanted of us was a dialogue within the country leading to "the full and equal participation of all in the political process".

The United States expresses its hopes for South Africa in much the same terms. Clearly there is now some reluctance simply to specify black majority rule as the solution for South Africa's problems.



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They speak of their perfunctory preparation for self-government by the former colonial powers, of the artificial national boundaries resulting from the big African carve-up of the colonial era, of an exploitative world economic system that milks developing countries for the benefit of the developed, of crippling debt burdens made worse by wild international currency gyrations, of destabilising pressures by the super-powers selfishly seeking strategic spheres of influence, of imported technologies quite unsuited to basic rural needs and many other reasons for Black Africa's poor performance.

There is much truth in these contentions and one has only to look at the earlier history of South America to realise that until a certain level of socio-economic development is reached, power resides in the breech of a gun.

That troubled region is not finding it at all easy to move away from the military dic-

cept something less which they are generally acknowledged to be better educated, more economically advanced and more sophisticated than most other blacks on the continent.

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This applies particularly to the key question of which community leaders it is prepared or not prepared to consult. The State President's sharp attack on the United Democratic Front is not a hopeful sign in this regard.

In a nutshell, the daunting task is to reconcile "full and equal participation of all in the political process" with, on the one hand, the historical fact of white minority rule and, on the other, the emotional commitment of most blacks to majority rule if not immediately then in some phased progression.

Non-Africans will be concentrating on federal, confederal or cantonal systems, proportional representation, constitutional guarantees, bills of rights and so on to safeguard their minority positions in any new constitutional arrangement.

There is material enough here to exercise the finest intellects and the biggest hearts. Obviously there can be no swift results and much will depend on the slow education of public opinion.

I am just terribly sorry that the Rand Daily Mail won't be around to make the kind of contribution it undoubtedly made towards getting reform going in the first place.

If one is going to be messed around or bossed about, it's better if it's by one's own kind than by aliens of a different race . . .

at fuss over the Medical Council's dubious role in the ... affair, this verdict by the Press Council still stands unaltered and unchallenged.

And, of course, like the ... of my own dismissal. From this parade of memories there is perhaps ... which should be singled out, if only because it is an important piece of history which might be lost and would therefore be recorded in this historic last issue of a newspaper whose name I will be immortalised.

In mid-1965, word reached the paper of a series of political trials taking place in small towns of the Eastern Cape.

Black consciousness snuffed out

RAM 30/4/85
HA

EIGHT years have passed, but memory has not been blurred by time. A mental photograph has been stored, available for recall. Sometimes it surfaces of its own volition.

It was a crisp morning in King William's Town in 1977. Summer was fading into autumn. Nature seemed caring and benevolent, inviting surrender to its cycle of birth, growth, decay, death and rebirth.

Steve Biko, champion of black dignity and leading proponent of black consciousness, was talking. One of scores of banned and banished people, he was reflecting on his detention the year before.

"I will not collaborate in my own oppression," he said. The words were spoken softly, without bravado. We had been talking of

detention and the pressures, direct and indirect, physical and psychological, deployed against detainees to strip them of self-identity and self-esteem and reduce them to ciphers, co-operating with their captors to bind the bonds of servitude tighter.

Steve had been detained in August 1976 and kept in solitary confinement, except for periods of interrogation, for weeks on end. He had emerged seemingly unscathed, as strong and determined an opponent of apartheid as ever.

One of his interrogators had, he said, tried to intimidate him physically. Steve, a big and robust man, had responded vigorously, making it clear that he would resist physical assault with all the power at his disposal. "After that he left me alone," Steve said.

He remarked with seeming nonchalance as we sat on a bench in a park at King William's Town that we had been followed and were under surveillance by both a local security policeman and a member of the then dreaded Bureau for State Security.

Within six months of that meeting, Steve himself was to die in detention. The inquest magistrate found that Steve died of a head injury, which he had probably suffered during a scuffle on September 7, 1977, five days before his death on September 12.

I have no doubt that Steve died, as he had lived, refusing to "collaborate in his own oppression". A less brave man may have survived, but Steve, though he died a horrible, lonely death, remained true to himself.

I first met Steve nearly five years before at a seminary at Hammanskraal, near Pretoria. That, too, remains deeply etched into my mind.

I was the only white journalist staying at the seminary, which was the venue for the annual general conference of the South African Students' Organisation (Saso), the black student organisation founded by Steve.

They were heady days. Black consciousness was the dominant political philosophy of the time. Black political self-assertion was on the rise after the quiescence which followed the outlawing and defeat of the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress in the 1960s.

Black consciousness was still at its formative stage. It was sometimes misun-



PATRICK LAURENCE ... "Steve died, as he had lived, refusing to 'collaborate in his own oppression'".

PATRICK LAURENCE, Political Editor

derstood by its less politically mature adherents and, instead of serving as prism to reflect black pride in self, it functioned as a magnifying glass to concentrate hostility on the dominant whites.

Tempers were up one day at the conference, feelings were running high against the white-owned Press. As a white journalist I was seen as an intruder from the enemy camp rather than a chronicler of events.

A resolution was moved calling for the immediate expulsion of white journalists. Then Steve intervened.

Black consciousness was not anti-white per se, he said. It was meant to promote black dignity and unity without generating hatred of whites, he added.

Black consciousness did not imply a rule of thumb which made all whites unacceptable while ensuring the acceptability of all blacks.

White journalists had to be judged as journalists, not by their skin colour. Black journalists similarly had to be evaluated by ability, not pigmentation.

The resolution was withdrawn. The white journalists were allowed to stay.

Steve's speech that day was an expression of the best traditions of the Mail, of its role of bridging the racial divide rather than widening it.



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Le Grange: 10 000 arrested for unrest

CAPE TOWN 30/4/85

By BARRY STREEK

MORE than 10 000 people had been arrested between September last year and March 22 this year in connection with the unrest in the country, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said yesterday.

He also said experienced and seasoned advisers were behind the disturbing internal security onslaught which was aimed at creating a revolutionary climate.

This revolutionary climate was not previously as discernible and also not so "sophisticatedly organized", Mr Le Grange said at the start of the debate on his vote in the House of Assembly.

217 killed

He said that 217 people, including one white person, had died in the unrest between September 1, 1984, and March 22 this year, and that 751 people had been injured.

This included four policemen, who had been killed, and 181 policemen, who had been injured.

Since January 1 this year, 72 buildings belonging to policemen in the Eastern Cape had been damaged by radicals and had caused damage of almost R279 000.



Mr Louis le Grange

Damage of more than R28-million had been caused to buildings and damage to vehicles, including trains, totalled almost R12-million.

He also appealed to black people to fight the United Democratic Front (UDF) and other organizations which tried to make the country ungovernable through violence or illegal methods "because it is in no one's interest that their children do not go to school, that buildings which have been put there for their benefit are burnt down and that their residential areas are turned into ash-heaps".

Mr Le Grange appealed to all responsible

community leaders, white and black, to promote effective contact and to talk about the problems which were troubling the black community.

Since September last year the unrest had spread to the Eastern Cape, the Free State and the West Transvaal.

He said, "A worrying aspect is the fact that the unrest has not been restricted to the larger centres, but already spread to platteland towns, particularly in the Eastern Cape, the Karoo, the North Free State and to a lesser degree the Northern Cape."

"The Eastern Cape is particularly sensitive area as a result of contributory factors of widespread unemployment and socio-economic points of friction."

Local training

Mr Le Grange said the African National Congress (ANC) was now concentrating on local training of terrorists in the rural areas which put the ANC in a position with the help of local trained terrorists and UDF activists to promote the condition of "ungovernableness".

At the same time, the local population was being encouraged with classical revolutionary theory and to establish alternative government structures.

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**Govt has been
forced 'back to
drawing board'**

African Affairs
Correspondent

ULUNDI—The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, says that KwaZulu's refusal to take part in the machinery designed to make the new constitutional dispensation work will again force the South African Government back to the drawing board.

Reviewing the work of his department in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday, Chief Buthelezi said KwaZulu's refusal to accept so-called independence had forced the Government back to the drawing board in the first place and had necessitated the authorities writing a script or a new constitution.

The Chief Minister said he had refused to partici-

pate in the Black Advisory Council which the then prime minister, Mr P W Botha, wanted in order to legitimise the President's Council.

He had subsequently refused to participate in the Special Cabinet Committee because, if he had taken part, he would have legitimised the new constitution.

'I refuse now to participate in the non-statutory negotiating forum and this is again the employment of non-participation where non-participation is warranted,' Chief Buthelezi said.

Non-participation was a strategy which ought to be employed where it worked but was never to be regarded as a principle.

Easier

Inkatha had evolved the 'brute political drive' which had strengthened the arm wielding the axe of non-participation in areas which really mattered.

'The lower you are down the scale of political importance, the easier it is for you not to participate,' he said.

The Chief Minister said the KwaZulu Administration was blamed by political enemies of Inkatha for being in the 'pay of the Government', and was charged with participating in the administration of the 'evil system of apartheid'.

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**Boycotting
Commuters
taxis**

saying it was not the answer to solving the three-month bus boycott. Last week, hundreds of workers walked up to 20 km to get to work after police intercepted pirate taxis in the township.

Meanwhile, a spokesman for the Commuters'

Le Grange says full-scale revolution is prior

'UDF is at the head of

Political Staff

PARLIAMENT — Government attacks on the United Democratic Front reached a new peak yesterday when Minister of Law and Order Mr Louis le Grange launched a scathing condemnation of the organisation in the House of Assembly.

In a statement at the start of the debate on the Law and Order Vote, Mr le Grange said the UDF was at the head of the unrest in South Africa.

This is the third major public attack on the UDF by Mr le Grange in the past two weeks. Recently he told a meeting of the Afrikaanse Sakekamer that UDF attempts to protest against the All Blacks rugby tour would be prevented. He also slammed the UDF in the House of Delegates last week.

The State President, Mr P W Botha, attacked the UDF in all three Houses of Parliament recently, claiming it was an internal wing of the banned African National Congress and the South African Communist Party.

Mr le Grange listed the chief "resistance organisations" in

PFP takes strong stand on police conduct d

Political Staff

PARLIAMENT — Progressive Federal Party members clashed fiercely yesterday with Conservative and National Party members over police conduct in townships during the unrest.

Speaking during the Law and Order Vote in the House of Assembly, Mrs Helen Suzman said it was "totally unrealistic" to believe that groups such as the United Democratic Front were the major cause of the unrest.

Replying to a lengthy attack

South Africa as the SACP/ANC alliance and the "non-collaboration" grouping: the UDF and its affiliates, the National Forum Committee, and "radical trade unions".

Most of the "enemy propaganda actions" were aimed at politicising and mobilising the "primary target group", the urban blacks, he said, but politicisation had already spread to some rural areas.

The UDF had declared itself

on the UDF by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, Mrs Suzman said: "We warned the Government that a constitution excluding 70 per cent of the people would polarise the situation and make blacks feel totally excluded."

"There is also apparently no understanding by Government of the increasing economic hardships faced by black people."

The "distinct impression" that the police were using "undue

in opposition to the constitutional reform. In practice, this meant that its affiliate organisations grasped on to particular social problems in order to create a climate of civil disobedience, knowing well that unrest would be the eventual outcome of their agitation, Mr le Grange said.

The ANC's declared policy was the intensification of armed struggle in South Africa and making the country ungovern-

force" in the townships was undoubtedly an exacerbating factor in the unrest which had become endemic.

Mrs Suzman said affidavits collected by the PFP from victims of township unrest, as well as the Catholic Bishops' Conference report on police conduct in Transvaal townships made "horrifically reading".

Police methods of dealing with unrest often provoked further violence.

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The UDF had also used every opportunity, for political purposes, to latch on to grievances such as the GST increase, general price increases, higher bus fares and the weak economy.

Mr le Grange said country-wide unrest had spread to certain rural areas in 1985. There

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Full-scale revolution is priority objective

the head of unrest'

ing stand on police conduct during unrest

the UDF by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, Mrs Suzman said: "We urged the Government that a constitution excluding 70 per cent of the people would polarise the situation and make blacks feel totally excluded."

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A reported instruction to police from headquarters in Pretoria that police in Casspirs be issued with R-1 rifles so that "when petrol bombs or acid bombs are thrown at police vehicles every attempt be made to eliminate the guilty party", was tantamount to a "licence to kill".

Mrs Suzman moved an amendment to the Vote that Mr le Grange's salary be reduced by R69 500 to equal the salary of a constable.

had also been direct attacks on the police, army and community councillors in line with ANC strategy.

Black people had been encouraged by the ANC, through its magazine *Sechaba* and Radio Freedom to:

- Use traditional weapons to "disarm the oppressors so that those weapons will be available to the masses"
- To buy and steal weapons.
- To eliminate "enemy agents"

such as the police, informers and community councillors.

- Make themselves ungovernable as a population.

In the past few months some of these aims had been implemented:

- Since January 1, 72 houses of police members in the Eastern Cape had been attacked.
- Unidentified persons shot at police during the Crossroads unrest.
- Homemade acid bombs and been thrown at police.

Between September 1984 and March 1985 R28 million damage was caused to buildings; R12 million damage to vehicles; 10 000 people had been arrested in connection with the unrest; 216 blacks and one white had been killed in unrest and 736 blacks and 15 whites injured; four policemen had died and 181 had been injured.

Mr le Grange called on all right-thinking people to realise that there would not be immediate funds to rectify the damage done in black areas. They should fight the UDF and other organisations "which are trying to make the country ungovernable".



Bishop Desmond Tutu

Argus 30/4/85

Confusion over Tutu peace plan

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Confusion is brewing over the proposed peace talks arranged by the Nobel Peace Prize winner, Bishop Desmond Tutu, to stop the infighting among black political organisations in the country.

Reports are that the meeting will be held tomorrow night at the Ipelegeng Community Centre in White City Jabavu, Soweto, but Bishop Tutu said today that he had not made any approaches to the principal organisations involved in the infighting.

The organisations are the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Inkatha movement of Kwazulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement.

Chief Buthelezi indicated that he supported such peace talks, but had not received any details or communication from Bishop Tutu.

AGREED

A UDF spokesman said the organisation agreed to attend a peace meeting.

Azapo's president Mr Ishmael Mkhabela said today that Azapo had not received any invitation from Bishop Tutu and was not aware of any meeting taking place.

Bishop Tutu said he hoped the meeting would take place, but he would not say when. He said the details of the peace talks had not been worked out yet.

Dustbin bomb found

Apk Times 20/4/85 (117) 204
RETORIA. — Police yesterday defused a device found by a cleaner in a dustbin near a café in Warwick Avenue, Durban.

A spokesman for the police directorate of public relations said the device was not powerful.

"Inside the device police found SA Communist Party pamphlets and stickers," the spokesman said.

"This method is employed by the ANC to distribute pamphlets and is considered fairly harmless. The method has often been used in the past by white SA Communist Party members operating from London," the spokesman said.

Police were investigating.

Last week a bomb went off at Congella Park, killing Mr Langalakhe Ngcobo, 51, who was employed by the Department of Parks, Recreation and Gardens.

It is believed that Mr Ngcobo had found the bomb and was carrying it away when it exploded. — Sapa

ARGAS 30/4/85

THE UDF

Le Grange on the attack

Parliamentary Staff

GOVERNMENT attacks on the United Democratic Front reached a new peak when the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, launched a far-reaching and scathing condemnation in the House of Assembly.

At the start of the Budget debate on the Law and Order vote, Mr le Grange said the UDF was at the forefront of unrest in South Africa.

This is the third major public attack made on the UDF by Mr le Grange in the past two weeks. Recently he told a meeting of the Afrikaanse Sakekamer that UDF attempts to protest against the All-Blacks tour would be prevented.

He also slammed the UDF during the debate on his vote in the House of Delegates last week.

ALL THREE HOUSES

The State President, Mr P W Botha, attacked the UDF in all three Houses of Parliament recently, claiming it was an internal wing of the banned ANC and SACP.

Referring to country-wide unrest, Mr le Grange said it had intensified and spread to rural areas in 1985 and there had been direct attacks on the police, the army and community councillors, in line with ANC strategy.

People had been encouraged by the ANC to use traditional weapons to "disarm the oppressors" and to buy and steal weapons.

MRG 30/4/85

THE POLICE

Blaming UDF for unrest 'unrealistic' — Suzman

Parliamentary Staff

THERE was a fierce clash between members of the official Opposition on the one hand, and Conservative Party and Government members on the other, over police conduct in townships during the unrest.

Speaking during the Law and Order vote in the House of Assembly, Mrs Helen Suzman, chief Opposition spokesman on law and order, said it was "totally unrealistic" to believe that organisations such as the UDF were the major cause of the unrest.

Replying to the lengthy attack on the UDF by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, Mrs Suzman said: "We warned the Government that a constitution excluding 70 percent of the people would polarise the situation and make blacks feel totally excluded.

"There is also apparently no understanding by the Govern-



Mrs Helen Suzman

ment of the increasing economic hardships faced by black people."

Mr le Grange should investigate his police force to see whether members were not deliberately trying to undermine the Government's reform programme for political reasons.

Amid sharp interjections from Mr le Grange, who said the police force was not "politicised", Mrs Suzman asked whether he did not think that the Conservative Party was

"working away like beavers among the Civil Service to undermine the political reform programme".

Referring to police conduct in the townships, Mrs Suzman said affidavits collected by members of the PFP from victims of township unrest, as well as the Catholic Bishops' report on police conduct in Transvaal townships, made "horrifying reading".

Funerals

Mrs Suzman said that when police kept away from the funerals of unrest victims there were no incidents.

She said she had also received reports that police were being "thoroughly obstructive" to attorneys acting for relatives of young people charged with public violence in Uitenhage.

Mrs Suzman moved an amendment to the vote that Mr le Grange's salary be reduced by R89 500 to equal the salary of a constable.

Several NP members attacked Mrs Suzman, saying she "lived in a different atmosphere" and was constantly "vilifying" the police.

Mr L Wessels (NP Krugersdorp) appealed to the Leader of the Opposition, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, to relieve Mrs Suzman of the law and order portfolio.

"She's more radical than Bishop Tutu, the UDF and the international media," he said.

The Conservative Party came out in strong support for Mr le Grange in his "efforts to maintain law and order".

Mr Frank le Roux (CP Brakpan) said these efforts were under strong attack from the left wing.

Mr le Roux added that it was a pity that the Kannemeyer Commission, appointed to inquire into the events at Uitenhage, was held in public as it did harm to the image of the police who had a difficult enough task maintaining law and order.

Azapo disown slur pamphlets

11A

Sowetan 30/4/85
SOWETAN REPORTER

THE East Rand region of the Azanian Peoples Organisation (Azapo) has disowned pamphlets issued at the weekend criticising the Congress of South African Students (Cosas).

A spokesman for the organisation said Azapo did NOT print the pamphlets and was just as shocked to see them in East Rand townships at the weekend and yesterday morning.

"We suspect that somebody is trying to put us up and create a state of war between our organisation and Cosas. It is obvious who is behind this. We are not responsible for those mischievous pamphlets," Mr Mafatshe Mokoena, the East Rand region secretary said yesterday.

The distribution of these pamphlets comes at a time when daggers are drawn between Black Consciousness organisations and Progressive Democrats. Lately there have been acts of violence involving Azapo and Azaso members at the University of the North (Turffloop).

Two weeks ago Cosas supporters also allegedly harassed Inkatha supporters at a rally in Duduza township.

Feelings among organisations have run high on several issues. The violence that has erupted the past two weeks was as a result of tensions among organisations.

This resulted in the Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu, agreeing to call a meeting of the three major organisations to defuse the situation. Other leaders have pointed out that people opposed to the struggle will take advantage of the situation and create friction.

And when the organisations are fighting one another then other elements will also attack leaders of organisations, knowing that the rival organisation would be blamed.

Can security laws really check the UDF hydra?



Minister le Grange: a total ban in mind?

Tshwete. They now need visas to enter South Africa and are illegal aliens without such documents.

Many of the Front's affiliated organisations have been dealt similarly severe treatment under South Africa's security laws. In addition, the Internal Security Act has been used repeatedly to ban meetings of the United Democratic Front and its affiliates on the ground that such gatherings are likely to endanger public peace.

The courts have not always agreed with such bannings.

The most extensive prohibition on meetings of the Front and affiliates in the Eastern Cape and East Rand is the blanket three-month ban imposed in April.

The repeated use of the Internal Security Act against the Front and suggestions from the highest Government circles that it is but the African National Congress in disguise, have repeatedly prompted the question: will Law and Order Minister Mr Louis le Grange ban the entire Front?

Jo-Anne Collinge examines criticism levelled at the United Democratic Front, and particularly the charge that it is bent on violence and destruction.

This is usually followed by the afterthoughts: how effective would such a ban be? Could he ban the hundreds of affiliates of the Front at the same time?

And there is a third less obvious question: can security laws check the dynamic which the United Democratic Front has helped set in motion?

When the Front came into being it was structured as a loose alliance of 400 organisations primarily to draw in the widest possible range of opponents to the new constitution and the then Koornhof Bills.

It was, in a sense, the most simple linking of grassroots organisations and trade unions which had come into being in the late '70s, years which were particularly arid in terms of national liberation politics.

But right at the start there were those within the Front who saw its structure as a safeguard against total banning.

Since the launching of the Front the number of affiliates has increased by about half. Most of the growth has come from newly-formed organisations often instituted in communities by residents during a crisis involving rents, education or removals.

The new organisations form a distinct repeat pattern in urban townships and across the platteland. In each organised community a civic/residents' association comes into being, a youth congress/organisation and a women's group.

Furthermore, there is coherence in the political interpretation of social problems such as unemployment, rising food costs, housing shortages, inferior education, inadequate social pensions.

This then is the appearance of the

UDF hydra. What of its nature? Is it bent on violence and destruction as suggested by the State President, Mr P W Botha? Is it really a front for the banned African National Congress and the South African Communist Party as most of its opponents seem to believe?

The declaration of the Front sets out its purpose as uniting "all our people wherever they may be, in the cities and the countryside, the factories and the mines, schools, colleges and universities, houses and sports-fields, churches, mosques and temples, to fight for our freedom.

"We pledge to come together in this United Democratic Front and fight side by side against the Government's constitutional proposals and the Koornhof Bills."

The declaration makes it clear that the Front's objective is a democracy in which all South African people will participate in the government of the country... a single unfragmented South Africa free of bantustans and group areas."

The commitment to universal suffrage and the strong presence of jailed ANC leaders among the Front's patrons immediately won it an extremist label in mainstream white politics and suggestions that it was a facade for the ANC.

The UDF has answered that patrons Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and others symbolise the struggle for liberation in its widest sense; they are figures in the history of South Africa's majority and the Front has recognised them as such.

off the fact that parties such as the African National Congress and also Russia have noted the Front's existence with approval.

"Any country which wants to understand the political dynamics of this land must take account of the United Democratic Front," he claimed after

the overwhelming boycott of the election for the House of Representatives.

"It is not simply an organisation of the people — it is the people."

These elections marked an important turning point in the verbal onslaught against the Front. It had for the first time to answer repeated allegations that its methods were violent.

These arose from UDF clashes with the Labour Party and police during the election. They intensified when the Vaal area went up in flames and scores were killed, many by police.

The Front's support for the people involved in struggles for lower rents, against local authority structures and for control of education came to be construed as support for violence whenever these struggles took a violent turn.

Throughout, the Front has claimed an unwavering commitment to demolishing apartheid peacefully. It has not repudiated its constituents who have become embroiled in violence, but has instead focused on the State might and force used against the masses and termed popular violence defensive.

There are indications that behind closed doors the question of violence has been seriously discussed.

After the recent conference of the Front its leadership declared it was determined to move to the forefront of mass action to ensure a disciplined approach and avert anarchy.

One of the last Press statements released by Mr Lekota before his detention made precisely this point.

Disciplined mass action, he said, would correctly channel the energies of the people and effectively demonstrate to the Government what their feelings were... without destruction to property or loss of life.

Mr Lekota's fate raises questions whether protestations of peaceful intent will save the Front from further security action, especially if popular conflict in South Africa deepens.

S. For
Pamphlet IIA
20/4/85
bomb found

DURBAN — Plastic bags containing explosives were found in a dustbin on the corner of South Coast and Grimsby roads in Moberi, Durban, at 11 am today, a police public relations department statement said.

Inside the device were SA Communist Party pamphlets and stickers.

The device was similar to one found in a dustbin in Warwick Avenue, Durban, yesterday. — Sapa.